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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND THE

ADJOINING COUNTRIES,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He moste reherfe, as neighe as ever he can;
Everich worke, if it be in his charge,
All speke he never so rubely and so large;
Or elles he moste tellen his tale untrewe,
Or feinen thinges, or fidene wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

VOL. V.

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THE
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. I.

THE ENGLISH, AT THIS PERIOD, MAKE EXCUR-
SIONS INTO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE KING-
DOM OF FRANCE.—THE MELANCHOLY DEATH
OF EVAN OF WALES.

SIR John Arundel, who had remained at South-
ampton with his two hundred men at arms and
four hundred archers, received information from
some prisoners who had been taken in a norman
vessel, that the duke of Lancaster had well scoured
the ports of Normandy, so that none of the French
dared to put to sea. He directly ordered his ves-
sels and four large ships to be got ready, laden
with provisions, in which he embarked, and made
sail for Cherbourg, where he was joyfully received.
The castle remained under the guard of the Eng-
lish, on the departure of the Navarrais ; but sir
Peter de Basle, the governor, did not leave it.

I must inform you, that Cherbourg is only to be
conquered by famine ; for it is one of the strongest
castles in the world : the garrison made many
profitable excursions on those of Valognes.

VOL. V.

B

Sir

Sir John Arundel, after he had garrisoned Cherbourg with English, remained there but fifteen days to re-victual it, and returned to Southampton, of which he was governor.

We will now speak of the siege of St. Malo. When the English entered the harbour, they found therein a number of vessels from la Rochelle, laden with good wines ; the merchants were soon eased of them, and their vessels burnt. The siege of St. Malo was directly commenced, for they were in sufficient numbers to undertake it : they overran the country, and did much damage. Those who were most active in this business were sir Robert Knolles, and sir Hugh Broc his nephew, who were well acquainted with those parts.

These two made excursions daily, and the canon de Robefart in company with them. Some days they lost, and at others gained : they, however, burnt and destroyed all round St. Malo.

The army of the duke of Lancaster had plenty of provision, for they had brought with them large quantities from England. Many severe assaults were made on St. Malo, and the attacks as ably resisted, for there were several men at arms within it not easily to be conquered.

The lords of the army caused the carpenters to make sheds, under which they could with greater ease carry on their attacks ; they had four hundred cannons pointed against the different parts of the town, which very much harassed its inhabitants.

Among the various assaults, there was one which
was

was particularly severe, for it lasted a whole day, and many English were killed and wounded: those within made so prudent a defence as not to lose a man: a knight from England, called sir Peter l'Escume, was slain, for whose death the duke and the earl were sorely vexed.

We will now return for a while to the siege of Mortain sur mer in Poitou, and to Evan of Wales.

Evan of Wales had closely blockaded Mortain in Poitou, of which place the souldich de l'Estrade was governor, and had erected four block-houses: the first was built on the edge of a rock before the castle, on the Garonne, and Evan had posted himself within it: the second was built between the water and the lower castle, opposite to a postern gate, from which none could issue without the certainty of being taken: the third was on the opposite side of the castle: the fourth was the church of St. Leger, near half a league from the fort.

The inhabitants of Mortain were long sorely harassed by these means, for the blockade lasted upwards of a year and a half, in which time they were hardly pushed for provision and other necessaries, having neither stockings nor shoes to their feet ; but what was the most grievous, they did not see any appearance of succour being sent to them.

During the time of this siege, there came out of England, and from the borders of Wales, a Welsh squire named John Lambe, who was scarcely a gentleman; and indeed he shewed it, for no gentleman would ever have practised such base

wickednes. It was said, that on his departure from England, he had been instigated by some english knights to perform the treason he did ; for Evan of Wales was greatly hated in England and Gascony, on account of the captal de Buch, whom he had made prisoner before Soubise in Poitou, and whose ransom could never be obtained either by the exchange of the count de St. Pol or by any other, nor for any sum of money that could be offered : this caused his death, through melancholy, in the Temple at Paris, to the very great regret of all his friends.

About this time, John Lambe arrived in Brittany, and continued his journey until he came to Poitou : he was honourably received every where, by calling himself one of Evan's friends and speaking very good French. He said he was come from Wales to visit Evan, and was too lightly believed. For these reasons, he was escorted by the men of Poitou to Mortain, where the siege was going forward.

John Lambe advanced towards Evan, when, falling on his knees, he said in his country language, that he had left Wales to see and serve him. Evan, not harbouring the least suspicion, received him kindly, thanked him for coming, and accepted his offers of service : he then asked the news from Wales. He told him enough of true and false, and made him believe that the whole principality was desirous of having him for their lord. This information gained so much the love of Evan (for every

every one naturally would wish to return to his own country) that he immediately appointed him his chamberlain. John won daily on the affection of Evan : there was no one in whom he had so great a confidence. Evan's regard increased so fast that evil befel him, for which it was great pity, for he was a valiant knight, a good man, and the son of a prince of Wales whom king Edward had caused to be beheaded, but on what account I am ignorant.

The king of England had seized his lands in Wales ; and this Evan, in his infancy having come to France, explained his situation to king Philip, who willingly listened to him, retained him near his person, and as long as he lived he was one of the pages of his chamber with his nephews d'Alençons and several other young nobles. He was also retained by king John, under whom he bore arms, and was at the battle of Poitiers, but fortunately escaped, otherwise death would soon have followed his captivity.

On the peace between France and England, he went to Lombardy, where he continued to bear arms ; and, on the renewal of the war, he returned to France, and conducted himself so well that he was much praised and loved by the king of France, and by all the great lords.

I will now tell his end, which I shall do unwillingly ; but it is necessary to shew to posterity what became of him.

Evan of Wales had a custom during the siege of

of Mortain, as soon as he was risen, if it were a fine morning, to seat himself before the castle, when he had his hair combed and plaited for a considerable length of time, during which he viewed the castle and the surrounding country, for he had not the smallest dread from any quarter: it was not usual for any one to attend him as a guard but this John Lambe. Very often it happened that he there completely dressed himself; and, if any one had business with him, they went there to seek him.

On his last visit it was early morn and fine clear weather, and the heat of the night had prevented him from sleeping: he went thither all unbuttoned, with only his jacket and shirt, and his cloak thrown over him, when he seated himself as usual, attended by John Lambe. All the others were asleep, and no guard was kept, for he considered the castle of Mortain as conquered. After Evan had seated himself on the trunk of a tree, he said to John Lambe, 'Go and seek my comb, for that will refresh me a little.' He answered, 'Willingly, my lord.' On his way to seek for the comb, or when returning with it, the devil must have entered the body of this John; for with the comb he brought a short Spanish dagger that had a broad point, to accomplish his evil intentions: he struck this dagger into Evan, whose body was almost naked, and pierced him through, so that he fell down dead.

After he had performed this deed, he left the dagger in the body, set off, and went slowly to the barriers

barriers of the castle, wherein he was received by the guards, to whom he made himself known, and was conducted to the souldich de l'Estrade. ‘ My lord,’ said he to the souldich, ‘ I have delivered you from one of the greatest enemies you ever had.’ ‘ From whom?’ replied the souldich. ‘ From Evan of Wales,’ answered John. ‘ By what means?’ demanded the souldich. ‘ By such means,’ said John, and then related to him the circumstances you have just heard. When the souldich heard this, he shook his head, and, eyeing him with anger, replied; ‘ Thou hast murdered him; but know from me, that if we did not reap much advantage from thy wicked deed, I would have thy head cut off: what is done, however, cannot be undone; but such a death is unworthy of a gentleman, and we shall have more blame than praise for it.’ *

Thus

* It would appear, however, from the following extract from the *Fœdera*, under the year 1381, of payments made on account of the war in Aquitaine, that John Lambe was sent on purpose to murder Evan: at least, he is recompensed for it:

‘ Item, paie le xviii. jour de Septembre, à Johan Lambe & à ses deux compagnions, en recompencion & regarde, si bien de les bons & agréables services qu’ il a fait à monsieur le prince, que Dieu assoile, & fera au roi q’ore est, come de la mourt de You de Galles, - C francs.’

After all the enquiries I have been able to make, I have not succeeded in identifying Evan of Wales with any known character in the old Welsh books. In the works of David Nanmor, who flourished from about 1490 to 1470, there is a passage,

where

Thus was Evan of Wales killed by a wicked and treasonable act, to the great grief of the army and all manner of people. King Charles of France particularly lamented his loss, but he could not help it.

Evan of Wales was buried in the church of St. Leger, which he had converted into a fort, half a league distant from the castle of Mortain, and all the gentlemen of the army attended his obsequies, which were very grandly performed.

The siege of Mortain was not, however, discontinued for this loss. There were very good knights from Brittany, Poitou and France, who had resolved never to quit it unless forced by superior numbers; and they were more eager than before to conquer the castle, by way of revenge for the death of Evan. They remained in the same position, without making any assaults, for they knew the garrison were exceedingly straitened for provision, and that none could enter the place.

We will leave this siege for a short time, and re-

where the poet, in looking for more happy times than his own in futurity, among other predictions announces the coming of Ievan Dyyi, or Evan of Dovy. Now this Evan of Dovy must have been some person of celebrity, at some period prior to the time of the writer before mentioned, whose fame is totally obscured, probably owing to the danger of espousing the cause of that personage, from his being hostile to the existing government. This seems to be the only reason for the ambiguity of the poet, and it seems also satisfactorily to account for the silence of all the welsh writers respecting Evan of Wales.

turn.

turn to that of St. Malo ; but we will first mention how those who had besieged Evreux persevered in it.

CHAP. II.

THE INHABITANTS OF EVREUX SURRENDER TO THE FRENCH.—THE TWO ARMIES ASSEMBLE BEFORE ST. MALO.

THE siege of Evreux being formed by the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, they had frequent communication with the king of France, who had fixed his residence at Rouen to be as near his army as possible. He was desirous they should gain Evreux, either by storm or capitulation, as soon as might be, for he knew the English were in great force in Brittany : he ordered, therefore, all his troops to advance thither to raise the siege of St. Malo, and to combat the English.

These two lords acquitted themselves loyally and valiantly, for every day there were assaults as well as negotiations going forward. They sent to remonstrate with the inhabitants on their folly in thus having war made upon them with the risk of losing their fortunes and having their houses razed to the ground ; for they had their lawful lord with them, the lord Charles de Navarre, to whom, by right of succession from his mother, the county of Evreux had devolved. They advised them, therefore,

fore, not to attend to the erroneous opinions of that madman Ferrando of Navarre, who was there only to ruin them ; for they must well know that the goodness of their cause would never allow them to march from thence without having conquered it ; and, should it be taken by storm, every one would be put to the sword, and the town re-peopled with new inhabitants. Such were the offers, speeches and menaces to the townsmen of Evreux ; but these did not prevent daily assaults from being made.

The inhabitants at last began to waver, on seeing that no succour was likely to be sent them ; and they said to each other, ' We see that the king of France does not claim the territory for himself, but for his nephew.' They therefore entered into a treaty with the lord de Coucy. When Ferrando perceived this, he shut himself up in the castle, and would not be present at any of the meetings. In short, they surrendered on their lives and fortunes being spared, whether they were in town or country, and acknowledged the lord Charles for their lord. They then besieged Ferrando in the castle, who negotiated with the lords of France, and offered to surrender the castle if they would permit him and his men freely to depart. His offer was accepted. Shortly after, they packed up their baggage, and marched out of Evreux, under the conduct of the lords de Coucy, de la Riviere, and sir John le Mercier, taking the road to Cherbourg.

After the conquest of Evreux, all the leaders of
the

the French army went to Rouen, where the king resided, in order to consider what was next for them to do; for they had heard that the English were besieging St. Malo. The king of France received them very graciously; in particular, the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere; for having so well succeeded in their exploits. All the men at arms remained in Normandy: not one of their captains were dismissed, but were regularly paid their allowances.

The king of France, during his residence at Rouen, had heard of the English having laid siege to St. Malo with a powerful army, and that the inhabitants were hard pressed by their daily assaults. He was unwilling to lose his subjects, as well as the town; for if St. Malo were taken, Brittany would be very much weakened in that part. The king had therefore, to this purpose, issued a special summons for assembling troops, in order to assist them against the English, which no one dared to disobey. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the count d'Alençon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Guines, sir John de Boulogne, and great numbers of barons and knights of all sorts, marched thither with numerous forces. The king sent orders to his constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to see that none absented themselves from this assembly.

The constable obeyed, and came with all the men at arms of Anjou, Poitou and Touraine. The marshal

marshal de Blainville and the marshal de Sancerre, the two marshals of France, were also there.

From other parts came sir Olivier de Clifson, the lord de Léon, with the knights and barons of Brittany : there were ten thousand men at arms at least, and in the plains one hundred thousand horses *.

These men at arms took up their quarters as near to each other as they could ; but there were between them and the English an arm of the sea and a river. When the sea ebbed, some young knights usually adventured on the sands, and performed several gallant deeds. Never was there seen so numerous an assembly of knighthood in Brittany. If the French were in great force, the English were very powerful, and each party thought there must be a combat, for every day there was an appearance of it from the banners and pennons fluttering in the wind. The English frequently drew out their army in battle-array, to examine the force of the French and the strength of the banners and pennons, which were there in very great abundance. It was a great pleasure to see them thus drawn out in line of battle, and advance towards the river, to shew that they were ready to engage. The English said, ' Let us look at our enemies, who will soon, at low water, cross over and fight with

* Denys Sauvage doubts if this number of horses be not too great.

us.' But they had no such inclination, and were afraid of trying the chance ; for their leaders would not allow them to advance to the combat.

During these frequent displays on each side, the earl of Cambridge, being fatigued with their inutility, declared with an oath, that if he saw them continued without any further advance made towards a battle, he would engage the French himself, whatever might be the consequence.

The van-guard, composed of numbers of able men under the command of the constable, who well knew the hot and impatient temper of the English, were ordered to draw up their battalions on foot, on the sands as near to the river as possible. The earl of Cambridge, who saw this manœuvre, cried out, 'Let them who love me follow me, for I am going to engage!' He then dashed into the river, which was low, but the tide was returning, and he began to cross it with his banner : the English commenced shooting at the French, when the constable ordered his men to retreat to the fields, in hopes the English would have crossed ; for very willingly would he have seen them do so, and have had them on the other side of the water.

The duke of Lancaster was prepared, with a very strong battalion, to follow his brother, should there have been occasion. He said to Gerard de Brees, a squire from Hainault who was near him ; ' Gerard, see how my brother ventures : he shews the French by his example his willingness for the combat, but they have no such inclination.'

Thus

Thus was this business carried on, without any deeds of arms being performed worth mentioning; the French keeping on one side the water, the English on the other. The flood beginning to increase, the English retreated out of the river, and returned to their quarters: the French followed their example.

Whilst these appearances of a battle were carried on, the siege of St. Malo was continued, and several feats of arms were done. The French guarded the banks so well, that the English were afraid to cross the water.

It frequently happened that several knights or squires of Brittany, well acquainted with the country, forded the river, and in their excursions met the English foragers, with whom they engaged; and success, as is usual in such cases, was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

The lords of England resolved to employ a mine, to gain entrance into St. Malo; for otherwise they thought they could not win it, as it was well provided with men at arms, who carefully defended it, as well as with all sorts of stores and artillery. The English were obliged to be continually armed, and to keep in a body ready for battle, should the French advance; and for this reason, they had not leisure to assault the town, except by their cannon, of which they had plenty, that greatly annoyed it. Having fixed on a spot, they set their miners to work.

We will now leave for a while the siege of St. Malo, and return to that of Mortain in Poitou.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THE ENGLISH RAISE THE SIEGE OF MORTAIN.

YOU have before heard related the death of Evan of Wales, how he was murdered, and how the Bretons and Poitevins were before Mortain, under the command of sir James de Montmort, sir Perceval d'Ayneval, sir William de Montcontour and sir James de Surgeres, who would not break up the siege, for they were much enraged at the death of Evan of Wales their commander, and wished to revenge themselves on the garrison for it.

You have also heard how sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Scrope, sir Thomas Breton, sir William Cendrine, with a large body of men at arms and archers, had been ordered to the country near Bourdeaux, and to assist those in Mortain, with sir Matthew Gournay, who resided in Bayonne, and who daily found employment there against the Gascons and barons possessing fortresses in those parts.

These four knights had remained with their men upwards of seven months at Plymouth, waiting a favourable wind to carry them to Gascony, which though it vexed them much, they could not help themselves.

You have heard likewise, that the lord Neville of Raby had been ordered with a body of men at

arms

arms and archers to the assistance of the king of Navarre, with the appointment of sénéchal of Bourdeaux. All these knights met at Plymouth, which was very agreeable to every one of them. On the arrival of lord Neville, they had a wind to their wish, and, having embarked on board the vessels that had been long laden, they set their sails, and steered for Gascony. This fleet consisted of six score vessels and forty barges, having on board about a thousand men at arms and two thousand archers. They had favourable weather, which carried them into the port of Bourdeaux, the night of Our Lady, in September, in the year of grace 1378.

When the Bretons and Poitevins who were before Mortain saw this great fleet pass by, with trumpets sounding and every sign of joy, they were much cast down ; while, on the contrary, the garrison were rejoiced, for they justly imagined they should very soon be relieved, or that there would be a battle, as they thought they never would have come so far to remain idle.

Sir James de Montmort and the other leaders of the army assembled in council, and debated for some time in what manner they should act : they repented they had neglected to accept the offers of negotiating ; for the soulard de l'Estrade had, a short time before, proposed a parley, and offered to surrender the castle, on the garrison being allowed to march in safety to Bourdeaux ; but the French would not listen to it. However, they now sent a herald to say, they would accept of their terms :

terms: but the souldich replied, he would have nothing to say to them; that he did not want to capitulate, for that the reinforcements he looked for were arrived; and that they might remain or march away as should please themselves.

Things remained thus, when the lord Neville and the English arrived at Bourdeaux, where they were magnificently received by sir William Helmen sénéchal des Landes, sir John de Multon mayor of Bourdeaux, the archbishop, the ladies and citizens.

Soon after his arrival, he issued a summons to the knights and squires of Gascony attached to England, and collected so many vessels that four thousand embarked on board of them, and sailed down the river Garonne, to raise the siege of Mortain. News was soon carried to the French army, that the English and Gascons were coming down the river in great force to raise the siege: upon this, the leaders called another council, wherein it was resolved, that as they were not sufficiently strong to wait for their enemies, it was better to give up their lost time than to run a greater danger; having ordered their trumpets to sound, they marched away without doing any thing more, and retreated into Poitou. All, however, did not march off, for a company of Bretons and Welsh, who had been attached to Evan of Wales, retired into the block-house of St. Leger, which they said would hold out against every force, and dragged all their artillery in with them.

The english and gascon knights, who came full
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fail down the river Garonne, cast anchor in its mouth before Mortain ; when they disembarked leisurely, and as they landed drew up in order of battle to attack the fort of St. Leger, into which the Bretons and Welsh had retired.

Immediately a sharp attack commenced. Whilst this assault was going on, the lord Neville sent a herald to the castle to speak with the souldich, and to enquire how he was. The herald performed his message, and reported that they were in good health, but so naked they had not a shoe to their feet nor a coat to their backs.

The attack on St. Leger lasted three hours ; and the assailants gained nothing, but had several wounded. The barons then encamped, with the intent of not departing thence before they had conquered it, and were much vexed that the lord de Montmort and the other lords were not shut up in this fort : those lords had very wisely marched off, and had left the Bretons.

CHAP. IV.

THE ENGLISH RECOVER SEVERAL STRONG CASTLES FROM THE FRENCH IN THE BOURDELOIS.

THE lord Neville and the english knights, on the morrow, gave orders for the assault being renewed : the trumpets sounded for the attack, and each

each company advanced to the fort St. Leger, when it began marvellously fierce.

That fort is situated on a rock which cannot easily be approached, and the weakest side is defended by wide ditches. The assailants laboured hard, but got nothing except many killed and wounded. The attack ceased ; when they thought it most advisable to fill up the ditches as well as they could, that they might gain more advantage in their next assault.

Having filled up the ditches with much difficulty, the Bretons who were within the fort began to be more alarmed than before, and not without reason ; so they entered into a treaty. The lords from England, being as anxious to assist the king of Navarre as to recover several places which the Bretons held in the Bourdelois, readily listened to their proposals. The fort of St. Leger was surrendered, on condition that the garrison should depart without danger to themselves or fortunes, and be conducted whither they chose to go. Thus was the fort of St. Leger won by the English ; when the principal lords went into Mortain, and found there the souldich de l'Estrade and his party in the manner the herald had described them.

He was immediately accommodated suitably to his rank, and the castle re-visited and reinforced with fresh troops. They then returned by the river Garonne to Bourdeaux the same way they had come.

When these knights were recruiting themselves in Bourdeaux, they learnt that a baron held a fort

called St. Maubert, six leagues distant, in Medoc, from whence he much harassed the country. They embarked on the Garonne great provision of stores and artillery, and, having mounted their horses, marched by land to St. Maubert, with about three hundred spears. The Gascons who accompanied lord Neville in this expedition were, sir Archibald de Greilly, the lords de Roussy, de Duras and de Tournon. On the arrival of these barons with their forces before St. Maubert, they encamped, and soon after began an assault, which at the onset was very severe; for the Bretons who were in St. Maubert were men of courage, and had for their captain a person called Huguelin, round whom they rallied, and by whose advice they acted with vigour.

These first attacks did no harm to the Bretons: when the English retired to their quarters, and on the morrow erected their engines to cast stones, in order to break through the roof of the tower in which they resided.

On the third day they ordered an assault, and said such a ruffianly crew could not hold out much longer. This attack was sharp, and many were slain; for never did men defend themselves better than these Bretons: however, seeing that no assistance was likely to come to them, they entered into a treaty; for they found they would never be left in quiet until they were conquered.

Treaties were concluded between them and the lords of the army, that they should surrender St. Maubert, and march out without any damage to themselves or fortunes, and should retire into

Poitou,

Poitou, or wherever they chose, and be conducted thither.

When lord Neville had gained St. Maubert, he had it repaired, re-victualled, and provided with artillery: he placed therein Gascons to guard it, and appointed a squire from Gascony, called Peter de Prefias, governor, and then returned to Bourdeaux.

The English at Bourdeaux received daily information that Pampeluna in Navarre was besieged, under the conduct of the infant of Castille; but they neither heard from the king of Navarre nor that king from them, which very much displeased him.

We will now return to the affairs of Brittany and Normandy, and tell how the siege of St. Malo continued.

CHAP. V.

THE MINE WHICH THE ENGLISH HAD MADE AT ST. MALO FAILS: IN CONSEQUENCE, THE SIEGE IS RAISED.

THERE were many grand attacks made by the English on St. Malo, during the siege; for they had full four hundred cannon, which fired day and night against the town and castle.

The governor, whose name was Morfonace, a valiant man at arms, was resolved to defend it well, aided by the councils of sir Hervé de Malatrait, the lord

lord de Combor and the viscount de la Belliere, and had so far succeeded that there was not as yet any apparent damage.

In the adjacent country, as I have before said, was the flower of France, as well great lords as others ; they amounted to sixteen thousand men at arms, knights and squires, with upwards of one hundred thousand horses. They were as willing for the combat as the English could be; but each of them sought to have an advantage : what, however, prevented this from happening several times was the large river, when the tide was in, between the two armies, which hindered them from attacking each other.

The mine was advancing, of which the inhabitants of St. Malo had some suspicions. In such large armies as these, it was not possible but that the foragers of each should frequently have encounters, in which fortune favoured sometimes one party, and sometimes the other ; for there were very expert and youthful knights of each army who sought for such exploits.

The miners of the duke of Lancaster laboured hard at their work day and night, to carry it under the town and throw down part of the walls, so that the men at arms and archers might easily gain an entrance.

Morfonace and the knights in the town guessed what they were about, and knew well that if they should succeed they were ruined. They did not fear their other assaults, for the town was well provided with all sorts of stores and artillery for two years,

years, if necessary : wherefore they considered how they might best counteract this mine. After having long consulted, they succeeded in their attempt : it was in some sort accidental, for things fell out with extraordinary good fortune for them.

Richard earl of Arundel was on guard one night with his people, but he was very inattentive to obey the orders he had received, of which the garrison were informed by their spies or otherwise. When they had fixed on an hour in which they imagined the army (trusting to lord Arundel's want of vigilance) would be fast asleep, they fellied from the town very secretly, and advanced to where the miners were at work, who had little more to do to complete their mine.

Morfonace and his company, being prepared to accomplish their enterprize, destroyed the mine at their ease ; and some of the workmen who were within were never seen afterwards, as the mine fell upon them.

When they had finished this busines, they said they would awaken the guard next the town, in order that they might know with what succes their gallantry had been crowned. They advanced to one of the wings of the army, shouting their war-cry, cutting down tents, and slaying all they met, so that the whole army was seriously alarmed. Morfonace and his companions retreated into St. Malo without any losf ; during which time the English armed themselves, and advanced in front of the duke's division, who was much astonished at this event : he demanded how it could have happened, when

when they informed him, that by the negligence of the guard, the mine had been destroyed, and they had suffered a great loss.

Upon this, the earl of Arundel was sent for and sharply reprimanded by the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge for his neglect: he excused himself as well as he was able, but was so greatly ashamed that he had rather have lost several thousand pounds.

After the destruction of the mine, the principal chiefs held a council to determine how they should act. They saw they had lost the season of the year, which was not to be regained; for should they attempt another mine, winter would come before it could be finished: they therefore resolved, taking all things into consideration, that their wisest plan would be to break up their camp and return to England.

Orders were, in consequence, issued by the duke and the marshals for the army to decamp, and embark on board their fleet in the port of St. Malo. This order was soon obeyed; and, having a favourable wind, they made sail for Southampton, where they arrived. On disembarking, they learnt that sir John Arundel, the governor of Southampton, was gone to reinforce the garrison of Cherbourg.

Thus was this army dispersed, when some recrossed the seas, and others returned to their own country. The common people in England began to murmur against the nobles, saying they had that year done little good in suffering St. Malo to escape from

from them: in particular, the earl of Arundel found no favour with them.

We will now leave the English, to speak of the French and of Cherbourg.

CHAP. VI.

SIR OLIVER DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER BY THE GARRISON OF CHERBOURG.

SOON after the English had retreated from St. Malo, and the French had reinforced the town and castle, the constable of France resolved to march and lay siege to Cherbourg; of which place sir John Harlestone was governor, who had with him many knights from England and Navarre.

The whole army, however, did not march thither; for the dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin of Auvergne, with other chiefs and great lords, sent back their troops to their different countries. Several went to pay their respects to the king at Rouen, who very graciously received them. The Bretons and Normans advanced to Valognes, three leagues from Cherbourg, where they erected small forts. They knew well that sir John Arundel had reinforced the garrison, and they supposed he was still there.

Between Cherbourg and Valognes are large forests, even as far as Coutances. The garrison of Cherbourg could sally forth, and make excursions

over

over the country as often as they pleased, for there were in these forests well hedged roads, which prevented them from being attacked, and Cherbourg is one of the strongest castles.

The garrison of Valognes were exceedingly vexed that they could not hurt the English, by harassing the country. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, brother to the constable, imagined that if he could, by means of the forest, approach in a cunning way near to Cherbourg, to reconnoitre it ; particularly if he could any how besiege it ; or if at least he could seize the town, which lies at some little distance from the castle, he would so strongly fortify it that the garrison could not quit or enter the castle without great loss.

Sir Oliver determined to try this project ; and taking with him about fifteen lances, and guides who were acquainted with the roads through the forest, he set out one morning from Valognes, continuing his march until he had passed through the forest opposite to Cherbourg. That same day sir John Arundel had visited the town to amuse himself, and had brought with him a squire of Navarre, called John Coq, to shew him the town. He was there informed that the French were at hand reconnoitring the place. ‘ My lord,’ said John Coq, ‘ I have heard that sir Oliver du Guesclin, the constable’s brother, has passed the wood, and is examining our castle : for God’s sake, let him be pursued. I think I can conduct you in such manner that he must fall into our hands, so that we may conquer them all.’ ‘ By my faith,’ replied sir John, ‘ I am

‘ I am very willing so to do.’ Having armed themselves secretly, they mounted their horses, in number about one hundred lances, picked men, and set out from Cherbourg, entered the forest without the French knowing any thing of the matter, and rode on.

Sir Oliver, finding the place of such strength as to make it impossible to besiege it, took the same road to Valognes by which he had come. He had not marched three leagues before sir John Arundel and John Coq, with their companions, who had been very exactly conducted, charged them, shouting ‘ Our Lady for Arundel !’ When sir Oliver heard this cry, and saw them advancing, he wished himself in Valognes : he therefore mounted a fleet courser, in hopes of saving himself ; for he found the parties were too unequal for a combat ; and his people dispersed themselves in the forest. Too few kept together. John Coq, like to a valiant man at arms, pursued sir Oliver so closely that at last he made him his prisoner : there were also ten or a dozen more taken ; the remainder saved themselves among the trees, and returned to Valognes as well as they could, and related to sir William des Bordes how they had fallen into an ambuscade, and that sir Oliver, with the remainder of their companions, had been made prisoners.

The knights and squires at Valognes were greatly hurt at this, but help it they could not. Sir Oliver du Guesclin was conducted by the garrison to the castle of Cherbourg, where he was told his ransom would be at least ten thousand francs. This capture

ture was great news for England ; and the business continued thus for a considerable time. Sir Oliver du Guesclin remained prisoner in Cherbourg, under the guard of John Coq who had taken him ; but sir John Arundel had all the profit : he ransomed sir Oliver and those who had been captured with him, but not immediately.

When the garrison of Cherbourg had been reinforced, sir John Arundel returned to Southampton, of which place he was governor. There remained with sir John Harlestone in Cherbourg some English knights ; such as sir John Copeland, sir John Briole, sir Thomas Pigourde, and several knights and squires ; who so carefully guarded it that no damage was done.

We will now leave for a while Cherbourg, and speak of lord Neville, the sénéchal of Bourdeaux, sir Thomas Trivet, with others their companions, and shew how they prospered.

CHAP. VII.

THE FRENCH GARRISON OF BERSAT* IS DEFEATED.—THE TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.—THE KING OF NAVARRE COMES TO BOURDEAUX, TO SOLICIT AID FROM THE ENGLISH.

THE lord Neville, who resided at Bourdeaux, had had good information that the infanta of

* Bersat,—a small town of Limousin, diocese of Limoges.

Castille,

Castille, with a large army of Spaniards, was besieging the good city of Pampeluna, and that the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, Raymond de Rameren, with several others, were shut up in it ; but he had no intelligence of the king of Navarre, nor where he kept himself, which very much astonished him : he supposed, however, that he should soon hear from him.

The inhabitants of Bourdeaux and the adjacent countries entreated him not to quit those parts, nor to send away any of his men at arms, so long as the Bretons should hold any forts near them : they informed him particularly how the garrison of Bersat very much harassed the country of the Bourdelois. To the enquiries of the lord Neville, how many Bretons there might be in Bersat ; they answered, there were full five hundred fighting men. Upon this, he called to him the sénéchal des Landes and sir William Scrope, and said to them ; 'Take two or three hundred lances, with as many archers, and march to Bersat, and manage so as to free the country from that garrison ; when we will afterwards turn our thoughts to things of greater importance.'

These two knights wished nothing more than to obey the orders they had received ; and, collecting their men, they crossed the Garonne, and marched towards Bersat. The same day the English had left Bourdeaux, the garrison of Bersat had made an excursion, with about six score lances : they had ascended the river Garonne in hopes of meeting some boats, and were under the command of

of a knight from Perigord, called sir Bertrand Raimond, a good man at arms.

About a short league from Bersat, the two parties of English and French came suddenly in sight of each other. When sir Bertrand saw that a combat was unavoidable, he was no way alarmed, but gave proper orders to his men, who were almost all Gascons, and drew them up in handsome array.

The English charged them with couched lances, spurring their horses until they were in the midst of them. On the first shock, many were unhorsed on each side, and several gallant deeds done. At last, however, the french Gascons could not maintain the fight; for there were too many against them, who were likewise chosen men. The party from the garrison of Bersat were either slain or made prisoners; very few escaped. Sir Bertrand Raimond and sir William Hemon were among those taken. The English then rode on towards Bersat. When the garrison found that their party had been defeated, they were thunderstruck, and surrendered the place upon their lives being spared. Thus did Bersat become English; and the detachment returned to Bourdeaux.

At the same time the English returned to Bourdeaux (the night of All-saints, in the year 1378), the king of Navarre came also thither, without being expected. The English received him most honourably; and, after they had lodged him and his attendants commodiously, they asked what news from his country and of the Spaniards, for they had received orders to make such enquiries.

He

He fully answered their questions, by saying that the infant John of Castille had besieged Pampeluna with a large army, and had much constrained those who were within it. He therefore entreated them, in conformity to the orders they had from the king of England, to make themselves ready to assist his people, and to raise the siege.

The English knights replied they were perfectly willing, and through no negligence on their part should the siege fail to be raised ; that they would prepare every thing speedily, but added, ‘Sir, you will return to your country, and issue out a special summons to your people ; for we will be with you on a fixed day, when we shall be altogether in greater force : besides, your people know the country better than we do.’

The king of Navarre replied, that they spoke well, and what they had proposed should be done. After this, he remained with the English but three days, when he took his leave, and left the city of Bourdeaux, returning home by sea ; for there were, in the neighbourhood of Bayonne and the city of Dax in Gascony, several fortresses in the hands of the Bretons. The king of Navarre safely arrived at the town of St. Jean, where he resided.

CHAP. VIII.

THE INFANT OF CASTILLE BESIEGES PAMPELUNA.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET, IN CONDUCTING SUCCOURS TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, TAKES SEVERAL PLACES IN GASCONY FROM THE FRENCH.

DURING the time the king of Navarre was at Bourdeaux, and since his return to his own country, John of Castille, son of the king of Spain, with the constable of Castille, who was the chief of this war, and whose name was don Pedro de Manriquez, had besieged the good city of Pampeluna with a large force.

With them were the count don Alphonso, the count de Medina, the count de Manons, the count de Ribede, Peter Ferrand de Falesque, Peter Gouffart de Modesque, and several other barons and knights from Spain, with their troops.*

These Spaniards, on their march towards Pampeluna, had taken and burnt the town of Lorwich and the city of Viana, on this side Logrono ; and there was not a lord in Navarre who dared to

* Ferreras does not mention any siege of Pampeluna, but says the infant advanced to Gorriaz, near Pampeluna, and afterwards besieged Viana ; when, having taken it, he returned to Castille. He notices only the first of the Spaniards in the text.—Vol. v. pp. 458, 459.

shew himself before them, but each remained shut up in his castle. The king of Navarre knew well all this, for he had continually messengers coming and going, but he could not do any thing without the assistance of the English.

Lord Neville*, who resided at Bourdeaux, whether he had been sent by the king of England and his council, was informed of all the treaties between the two kings, and that it was incumbent on him to fulfil them. Having considered this matter, he called to him sir Thomas Trivet, a very valiant knight, and said to him; ‘Sir Thomas, you know that we have been ordered hither to guard the frontiers of this country, to drive out our enemies, and to assist the king of Navarre, who has been lately here, and told us how much he was in want of our help. You were present when I promised him assistance. This must be done, or we shall be blamed. Therefore, my dear friend and companion, I appoint you leader of the troops I shall send to this war, and now order you to march thither with five hundred lances and a thousand archers. I shall remain where I am, being sénéchal of Bourdeaux, under the orders of the king of England; for I must pay attention to what passes here, as this whole country is not very secure against our enemies.’

‘My lord,’ replied sir Thomas, ‘you do me more honour than I deserve: I will obey your orders, as in justice I ought to do, and will acquit

* Lord Neville of Raby.—DUGDALE.

myself in this busines to the utmost of my power.' 'Of that, sir Thomas,' answered lord Neville, 'I am perfectly assured.'

Sir Thomas Trivet made no long delay, but, having completed his preparations, set out from Bourdeaux with his complement of men at arms and archers, taking the road towards Dax in Gascony. There were with him William Condene, sir Thomas Berton, sir John Affulée, sir Henry Paule, sir William Croquet, sir Louis Malin, sir Thomas Fourqe and sir Robert Hafton, all Gascons.

When this army was arrived at the city of Dax, they received intelligence that the king of Navarre was at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, there assembling his men at arms. This news was very pleasing to them.

Sir Matthew Gournay*, uncle to sir Thomas Trivet, was governor of Dax, who received his nephew and his companions very agreeably, and helped them to find out lodgings. Sir Thomas' intentions were to have continued his march without halting: but sir Matthew Gournay said to him, 'Fair nephew, since you have with you so large a force, let us free this country from the

* Sir Matthew Gournay was fourth and youngest son of Thomas, one of the murderers of Edward II. He was a soldier of fortune, an able and valiant man, and sénéchal des Landes (a sandy tract between Bourdeaux and Bayonne). He died 26th September 1406, and is buried at Stoke under Hamden, county of Somerset.—For further particulars, and his epitaph, see Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. ii. p. 20.

Bretons and French, who hold at least a dozen fortresses between this place and Bayonne; otherwise you leave them in your rear, and they may do as much mischief the ensuing winter. If you consent, the country will thank you, and I entreat it of you.' 'By my faith,' replied Sir Thomas, 'I am very willing.'

Soon after this conversation, he set about the business, and, drawing out his forces in the plain, marched towards a fort called Montpin, which was in the possession of the Bretons. A squire from the county of Foix, whose name was Taillardon, was governeur of it.

On their arrival, the English began a very severe attack. The fort was stormed, and all in it put to the sword except Taillardon, who was made prisoner. After having placed in the castle a new garrison, they marched away, and came before another, called Carcilhat, which the Gascons held. They immediately commenced an assault, but not gaining it directly, they encamped. On the morrow, they renewed the attack with so much vigour that it was taken, and all within slain except the governor, who was from Lower Brittany, and called Yvonnet Aprisidly: he was given to the English as prisoner, and the castle burnt. They then marched towards another fort, called Besenghen, of which a gascon squire was governor, whose name was Roger de Morelac. The English were two days before they could win it, which was at last done by capitulation: the garrison

marched out in surety, and each man returned to his home.

From this castle they came before Tassegnon, which is situated three leagues from Bayonne, and laid siege to it. The Bayonnois were much rejoiced when they heard of this; and they were joined from that town by full five hundred men with lances and shields, bringing with them the largest of their warlike engines.

The garrison of Tassegnon having done so much harm to those of Bayonne made them thus desirous of their destruction; but they would never have succeeded had it not been for the judgment and advice of the English: yet with all their united force they were fifteen days before they gained it, which was done by capitulation, on the garrison marching out in safety under passports from sir Thomas Trivet, who had them escorted as far as Bregent, which belonged to the French. The Bayonnois bought the castle for three thousand francs, and then razed it, carrying the stones to Bayonne; where the English were received with great joy, and had all things according to their wish by paying for them.

CHAP. IX.

SIR THOMAS TRIVET WITH THE ENGLISH COME TO
THE SUCCOUR OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE
SIEGE OF PAMPELUNA IS RAISED.

THE king of Navarre, who resided at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, was exceedingly angry that the English were so long coming, for his country was in great danger; and the city of Pampeluna would have been taken by the Spaniards, had it not been for the viscount de Chastillon, the governor, who had under him in all but two hundred gascon spears, but his prudence and watchfulness prevented it.

Sir Perducas d'Albret was governor of the town of Tudela in Navarre; the count Pullois and his brother Roger commanded in the city of Miranda: a knight from Catalonia, called sir Raymond de Bageth, was governor of another strong town in Navarre, named Arques*. The king of Navarre, placing his confidence in these captains, remained at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, and left them to act as they pleased. The whole country round Pampeluna was destroyed; for none dared to oppose the Spaniards, and they concluded they must by a long siege gain the town. However,

* Arques,—probably les Arcos.

those within thought otherwise; for the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut and sir William de Paux defended it so well that the Spaniards began to be tired: winter was approaching, it being about St. Andrew's day, and their provision was becoming scarce; for, if the viscount de Roquibertin had not reinforced them with men at arms and sixty horse-loads of provision, they would have retreated at All-saints day.

The king of Navarre sent one of his knights, called sir Peter de Bascle, to the English, to entreat them, if they wished to serve him, to hasten their march; for they had too long delayed it, according to the promises they had made, and the need he had of them.

The knight rode until he came into the country of Bayonne, and found the English before a castle named Poulat, to whom he delivered his message very punctually. Sir Thomas Trivet replied, that as soon as the castle he was now before was conquered, he would march for Navarre, and that the knight might return and depend on what he had said.

Sir Peter went back, and two days afterwards the castle surrendered, on the garrison marching out in safety. It was re-garrisoned, and afterwards the country continued tolerably quiet. There were some other smaller bodies, who had posted themselves in churches and monasteries, that harassed the country; but they were in no great numbers. The English, therefore, declared they could no longer remain with them, but must march

to

to Navarre to raise the siege of Pampeluna and combat the Spaniards.

Sir Thomas Trivet, sir Matthew Gournay, with their men, returned to Dax, where they halted four days: on the fifth, they departed, and took the road to Navarre. Sir Matthew Gournay marched back to the city of Bayonne with those under his command, to defend the country, and to conquer some of the small forts which the Bretons still held.

Sir Thomas continued his march until he arrived at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, where he found the king of Navarre, who was right glad to see him. He lodged the knights in the town, and the men at arms found the best quarters they could in the country about. The king had, some time before, issued his summons for a large army to assemble before the city of Miranda: none dared to disobey it, and all knights and squires had in consequence prepared themselves to march to Pampeluna against the Spaniards.

News arrived at the Spanish army, that the English with a powerful force were with the king of Navarre, at St. Jean, to the amount of twenty thousand men at arms. Upon this, a council was held of the principal chiefs, to consider whether to wait for the king of Navarre, or to retreat. This was long debated; for some of the captains wished to wait for the English and Navarrois, while others were of a contrary opinion, saying they were not strong enough to meet such an army, and too much fatigued and worn down by the length of the siege.

This

This council sat a considerable time: at last, orders were given to decamp, and make a handsome retreat into their own country. What inclined them most to this was, that some valiant knights who had great experience in war declared that their honour would not suffer any disgrace, for that king Henry, being returned into Castille, had sent, fifteen days before, orders of recal to his son, as well as for the discontinuance of the siege of Pampeluna.

The Spaniards, therefore, quitted their quarters, and when they marched off set fire to them, taking the road to Logrono and to St. Domingo in Castille. When the inhabitants of Pampeluna saw them march away, they were much rejoiced, for they had pressed them hard.

News was brought to the king of Navarre and to the English at St. Jean of the Spaniards having raised the siege, and of their retreat to their own country. They seemed as if much enraged at it, for they would willingly have fought with them. Notwithstanding this, they marched to Pampeluna, where they found the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut and the others, who received them with pleasure.

When these men at arms had refreshed themselves for two or three days in Pampeluna, they thought it advisable to march from thence and divide themselves in different garrisons, to gain more country: besides, the mountains of Navarre are too cold in the winter, being covered with snow. The English were, therefore, ordered to

Tudela;

Tudela; the lord de l'Escut to Pont à la Reine*; the count Pullois and his brother Roger to Corella, and the lord de Chastillon to Mundon. In this manner were the men at arms distributed, and the king of Navarre remained in his palace at Pamplona. The garrisons in Navarre continued in peace, without manifesting any inclination to make excursions during the winter: on which account, the Spaniards dispersed, and king Henry went to reside at Seville, accompanied by his queen and children.

CHAP. X.

THE ENGLISH AND NAVARROIS OVERRUN THE KINGDOM OF SPAIN.—THE EVENTS THAT BEFEL THEM THERE.

SIR Thomas Trivet and his companions were quartered in Tudela, and had not done any thing since their entrance into Navarre; but, hearing that the Spanish army was disbanded, they determined to make an excursion into Spain, to perform something for their pay. They made preparations for a secret expedition, and sent information of it to the count Pullois and his brother Roger, who came to Tudela with two hundred lances and three hundred shields: when they were

* Pont à la Reine,—Punte à la Reyna,—appears by the map to be in Arragon.

all mustered, they might be about seven hundred spears, twelve hundred archers, and as many other foot soldiers. They loaded many horses with all sorts of provision, and, marching away, encamped, on Christmas eve, in a fair meadow by a river side at the foot of the mountain Montcain*, which separates the three kingdoms of Navarre, Castille and Arragon: on the other side of this mountain lies a country called Val di Soria. This day the weather was very fine, and wondrous hot.

When they had dined, the captains assembled in council to determine whether they should remain there Christmas day, or attempt some war-like exploit; for they were on the borders of the enemy's country. They resolved to march that very night, so as to arrive at the city of Soria† by dawn on Christmas day, and scale its walls.

This plan was adopted, and orders given in consequence. Three hundred lances were only to be employed; the others with the foot were to remain where they then were until the morrow, to hear the success of the enterprize. The count Pullois with one hundred lances, and sir Thomas Trivet with his troops, having guides to conduct them, were to march in four divisions and to form three ambuscades, the more secretly to execute their enterprize and the more surely to succeed in it.

* Montcain,—probably, by the map, Moncaio: it seems near to Taraçona.

† Soria,—a town in Castille.

About two o'clock after midnight, they were armed and mounted, but without any trumpets. The captains and the guides made themselves well acquainted with the different points of the country, that they might all arrive punctually at Soria at the same time. They had ascended the mountain and advanced into the plains, when it began to snow and hail so marvellously fast that the ground was all covered, and they rode on until the morrow without meeting each other. This misfortune of the English fell out luckily for the inhabitants of Val di Soria, as they had not taken any precautions against an attack; and, had they met according to the plan laid down, they must have taken the town by escalade, without a possibility of a disappointment.

When sir Thomas Trivet and the other captains saw that their attempt had failed, they were much vexed: they collected themselves as well as they could, to take some refreshment from their sumpier horses, and then to follow the right road to Soria, according to their original intentions.

As they had resolved, so did they execute; and, after a short breakfast, sir Raymond de Balge, a Navarrois, was chosen to advance before the town with forty lances, in order to draw out the javelin men who were the guard of it.

The knight rode up to the barriers, where he skirmished with the guard; for these javelin men were full two hundred: they fellied forth instantly, and began a combat, when the others retreated by little and little to draw them further into the plain.

The

The garrison would have very roughly treated this detachment, if their ambuscade had not advanced to their assistance: they charged the guard full gallop, with spears in their rests, so that at the first shock several were killed and wounded, and the rest driven back into the town with great loss. They immediately closed their gates and barriers, and mounted the battlements, for they expected an assault; but they were disappointed, as the English and Navarreis retreated in the course of the day, and returned to their quarters, where they had left their men.

They remained there that night; and on the morrow, which was St. Stephen's day, they marched to a town called Quasquan*, in Navarre, where they met the king of Navarre, who had come thither on Christmas eve. The English, on their way to Cасcante, burnt several villages, and in particular a considerable one called Nigrete, which they completely pillaged.

* Quasquan,—Cасcante, near to Tudela.

CHAP. XI.

SIR THOMAS TRIVET MAKES AN EXCURSION TO THE TOWN OF ALFARO IN CASTILLE.—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF SPAIN AND NAVARRE.—THE DEATH OF HENRY KING OF SPAIN.—HIS SON JOHN IS CROWNED AS HIS SUCCESSOR.

WHILST king Henry resided at Seville, in the heart of his kingdom, news was brought to him that the English had made an incursion, and burnt the town of Soria, in the name of the king of Navarre. He was much enraged thereat, and swore he would make them pay for it. He wrote letters to his son, John of Castile, instantly commanding him to issue a particular summons throughout the kingdom, and to assemble the nobles; for that he should very shortly be in Castile, to revenge himself on the king of Navarre for the excesses which he had committed.

The infant neither dared nor wished to disobey the commands of his father, but immediately issued the summons.

Whilst these men at arms were collecting, and before the arrival of king Henry, sir Thomas Trivet resolved to march towards a handsome town in Spain called Alfaro. In this design, he set out one evening from Cascante, leaving there the king of Navarre, with only one hundred lances; but they were

were all such as he could depend on. They came near to Alfaro about day-break, and halted a league from the town, where they placed themselves in ambush.

Sir William Cendrin and sir Andrew Andrac were sent forwards, with about ten spears, to alarm the place. They came to a little brook which runs before the town, and is dangerous to pass: however, Andrew Andrac and Peter Mascle, Navarrois, made their coursers leap over it, and galloped up to the barriers.

The town was exceedingly alarmed; and, having sounded their trumpets to assemble their men at arms, they opened the gates and barriers, fellied forth, and directly began to skirmish. Of these ten lances, there were only those I have named who had crossed the brook, so that, when they saw such numbers advancing, they wheeled about and leaped back again.

Those of Alfaro seeing so small a number, and not suspecting any ambuscade, followed them closely, passing the rivulet a little higher up, at the ford. The ten spears allowed themselves to be pursued as far as the ambush, from whence sir Thomas and the others rushed full gallop, shouting their cry, and, charging the enemy, unhorfed several. In truth, the Spaniards, unable to withstand the English, turned about as quickly as they could: few escaped death or being made prisoners.

The alarm was great in the town, which made the English think they should be immediate masters of it, for they saw the inhabitants were as good as defeated:

defeated : however, they were disappointed, for the women of the place saved it by their presence of mind. Whilst the English were crossing the brook, they closed the gates and barriers, and, having mounted the battlements over the gate, shewed every inclination to defend themselves.

When sir Thomas saw them thus drawn up, he said as he was advancing, ‘Look at these good women : let us return back, for we cannot do any thing more.’ Upon which they retreated, crossed the brook, and made for Cascante, carrying with them their prisoners. Sir Thomas Trivet acquired great favour from the king of Navarre for the success of this expedition.

About fifteen days after this affair of Alfaro, the Spaniards took the field, amounting in the whole, horse and foot, to twenty thousand men, with a good inclination to combat the English. The king of Navarre, on hearing this, went to Tudela, attended by sir Thomas Trivet and his troops, and sent orders for all the garrisons of Navarre to march thither : they willingly obeyed his orders, as they wished for nothing more than to engage the Spaniards.

The Spaniards were only waiting for the arrival of king Henry, who had left Seville with a numerous attendance, and was traversing his kingdom to St. Domingo, where on his arrival he halted, and quartered his people in the adjacent plain. When don John heard that the king was come to St. Domingo, he left Alfaro, and marched thither with his army. It was the intention of the Spaniards to

lay

lay siege to Tudela and inclose the king of Navarre in it, or force him to fight.

The king of Navarre was informed of all this, and he knew that he was not strong enough to risk a battle with king Henry, who had forty thousand men, including horse and foot.

There were some prelates and barons, wise and valiant men of both kingdoms, in either army, who foresaw that great troubles might arise if the two kings, Henry and Charles, should mutually slay each other in battle: they therefore proposed an armistice, that they might endeavour to settle their differences: but these negotiators had much labour and difficulty before they could bring matters to an issue, for the English, who amounted to full two thousand, were haughty and bitter against the Spaniards, and advised the king of Navarre to risk a battle.

On the other hand, the Spaniards, who were very numerous, held the English and Navarreis cheap. The treaties, however, were drawing to a conclusion; and, with much difficulty, an armistice was agreed on, for six weeks, between the two kingdoms, with the intent of concluding a peace. The negotiators proposed also that a marriage should take place between the eldest son of king Henry with a daughter of the king of Navarre, that the peace might be more solid and durable.

The king of Navarre readily listened to this proposal, for he saw by it how highly his daughter would be settled. The prelates and barons of both realms advised also that Charles, eldest son of the king

king of Navarre, should marry a daughter of king Henry. This was concluded ; and don Henry, king of Castille, was to use his influence with the king of France, under whose guardianship Charles was, that he should be permitted to return to Navarre. This he performed ; and the king of France complied with his request.

The king of Navarre, on account of these marriages, was willing to surrender, for ten years, to the king of Spain, as a security for his good faith, the towns and castles of Estella, of Tudela and of la Guardia.

King Henry consented to give up to the English sir Peter Courtenay and the lord de l'Esparre, a Gascon, who were his prisoners.

All these different treaties were sealed, and sworn to be faithfully observed for ever by the two kings ; and it was agreed that whoever should any way infringe them should submit himself to the judgment of the pope.

Whilst these negotiations were going forwards, the king of Navarre, who was indebted to the English twenty thousand francs, sent the viscount de Chastillon to Arragon to borrow this sum from the king of Arragon, who readily lent it to him, but took for his security the good towns of Pampeluna, Miranda, Borgo la Reyna, Corella and St. Jean du Pied des Ports.

By these means, the English were paid their demands : they left the king of Navarre, well satisfied with their conduct, returned to Bourdeaux, and from thence to England.

The marriage was concluded between Charles of Navarre and the daughter of king Henry : she was called Jane, and was very handsome.

In this year the king of Castille died, and his eldest son, don John, succeeded him. He was crowned, with the consent of all the prelates and barons of Spain, king of Castille, Seville, Gallicia and Cordova ; and they swore to him, for ever, fealty and homage.

About this time, war commenced between the kings of Portugal and Castille, which lasted a considerable time, as you will hear related in this history. But we must now return to the affairs of France.

CHAP. XII.

THE LORD DE MUCIDENT TURNS TO THE ENGLISH.

—THE LORD DE LANGURANT IS MORTALLY WOUNDED.—THE GOVERNOR OF BOUTEVILLE IS DEFEATED, AND THE CASTLE SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

YOU have before heard that the lord de Mucident had turned to the french party. He had remained at Paris for upwards of a year, until he was tired ; for he had expected more from the king of France than he had received, which made him repent having changed his side. He said he had been forced so to do, and that it was not of his own free will.

He

He therefore resolved to quit Paris privately, where he had too long resided, return to his own country, and then surrender himself to the English ; for he preferred serving the king of England to the king of France.

He acted upon this plan, and gave all his acquaintance to understand, except those of his council, that he was disgusted.

One evening he mounted his horse incognito, only two persons with him, set out from Paris, and rode to his own country, where his people followed him.

He continued his journey until he came to Bourdeaux, where he found the lord Neville, to whom he related his adventures. He attached himself to the English, and declared he would rather betray his troth to the king of France than to his natural lord the king of England.

The lord de Mucident remained steady to the English ever after as long as he lived.

The duke of Anjou was much enraged when he heard of this, and swore, that if ever he could lay hands upon him, he would make his head fly from his shoulders. This was told to the lord de Mucident, who in consequence took every precaution in his power.

The lord de Langurant remained steadfast to the French. He was an able and active knight, and harassed much the vassals of those who had turned to the English possessing lands adjoining to his own ; such as the lords de Rofem, de Duras, de Mucident ; which made these three barons very angry,

and excited them to attempt all means to slay him ; for he was their bitter enemy.

The lord de Langurant, being a knight eager for battle, was riding out one day attended by about forty lances : he advanced near to an english garrison called Cadillac*, which belonged to the captal de Buch and his brothers. He posted his men in ambush in a wood, telling them that he would ride alone to the castle to see if any one would fall forth against him. His men obeyed : when, riding to the barriers of Cadillac, he spoke to the guards, asking, ‘ Where is Bernard Courant, your captain ? Tell him that the lord de Langurant wishes to tilt with him ; and, since he is so valiant a man at arms, he will not refuse my request for the love of his lady. If he should not consent, it will turn to his shame, and I will publish every where that he had refused to break a lance with me through cowardice.’

One of the valets of Bernard, at that time at the barriers, replied ; ‘ Lord de Langurant, I have perfectly heard what you have said : I will go and inform my master ; for cowardice shall never be a reproach to him, if you will be so good to wait.’

‘ By my faith,’ answered the lord de Langurant, ‘ that I will.’ The valet went to his master, whom he found in his chamber, and told him what you have heard.

When Bernard heard this, his heart swelled with-

* Cadillac,—a village in Guyenne, seven leagues from Bourdeau.

in him, and he fiercely exclaimed, ‘ Give me my arms, and saddle my steed, for he shall never return with a refusal.’ His orders were promptly obeyed: being armed, he mounted on horseback with his lance and buckler, and, having the gates and barriers thrown open, advanced into the plain.

The lord de Langurant was much pleased when he saw him: lowering his spear, he placed himself in the position of a good knight, as did his squire. They were both well mounted; and, spurring their horses, their lances struck with such force on their shields as shivered them to pieces. At the second pass, Bernard Courant gave such a deadly blow on the shoulder of the lord de Langurant as to drive him out of his saddle, and fell him to the ground. When Bernard saw him fall, he was rejoiced, and turning his horse upon him, as the lord de Langurant was raising himself up, Bernard, who had great strength, caught him with both hands by the helmet, tore it off his head, and flung it under his horse.

The troops of the lord de Langurant who were in ambush, noticing all this, began to advance to rescue their lord. Bernard Courant perceived them, and, drawing his dagger, said to the lord de Langurant, ‘ Surrender yourself my prisoner, lord de Langurant, rescued or not, or you are a dead man.’ The lord de Langurant, who trusted to his people for assistance, was shy, and made no answer. When Bernard saw that he would not make any reply, he was inflamed with passion, and, fearing lest he might suffer from delay, struck him with his dagger

on

on the head, which was bare, and drove it into him : then, drawing it back, he put spurs to his horse, galloped within the barriers, where he dismounted, and put himself in a posture of defence, if there should be a necessity for it.

The lord de Langurant's people, on coming to him, found him mortally wounded : they were very much enraged at it, and, having bandaged his wound as well as they could, carried him back to his castle, where he, on the morrow, expired. Such was the end of the lord de Langurant in Gascony.

At this period, a deed of arms was performed, in the Rochellois, against Heliot de Plaisac, a very amiable squire and gallant man at arms, governor of Bouteville*, an english garrison, wherein there were about six score lances, English and Gascons, who, pillaging the whole country, advanced almost daily as far as the towns of la Rochelle or St. Jean d'Angeli. They kept these towns in such dread that none dared to venture out but very privately, which angered greatly the knights and squires of that country.

They confidered well this busines, and resolved either to apply such a remedy as would put a stop to it, or to lose their lives or liberties in the attempt. They collected, in the town of la Rochelle, about two hundred spears, on whom they could depend ; for it was towards this town that Heliot de Plaisac made his excursions. There were now in it, from

* Bouteville,—near Cognac.

Poitou and Saintonge, the lords de Touars, de Puissances, sir James de Surgeres, sir Perceval de Cologne, sir Reginald de Gomers, sir Hugh de Vivonne, and several other knights and squires, all well inclined to meet and combat their enemies. These lords had had information that Heliot de Plaifac was on his march towards la Rochelle, in search of prey. They gave their orders accordingly, and sallied out in the evening well armed and mounted. On their departure, they directed that the cattle should, on the morrow, be driven out to the fields to take their chance ; which was obeyed.

When the morrow came, Heliot de Plaifac and his troop arrived before la Rochelle, whilst their foragers collected the cattle, and had them driven away by the peasants of the country. They had not gone more than a league before the French (who were upwards of two hundred lances) fell upon their wing, quite unexpectedly, and charged them vigorously ; so that at this first onset, several were unhorsed.

Heliot de Plaifac cried out ; ‘ On foot, on foot ! let no man fly, but send away the horses ; for, if the day be ours we shall have horses enow, and, if we lose it, we shall not want any.’ The English and Gascons, of Heliot’s party, drew up on foot, and in good order. The French did the same, for they were afraid of their horses being wounded by the spears and swords of the enemy.

The battle then commenced. It was severe, and of long continuance ; for they fought hand to hand,

hand, pushing their spears up to their guards at every thrust. Many gallant deeds were done; there was many a capture, and many a rescue. However, the Poitevins and Saintongers won the field, and their enemies were either slain or made prisoners, for very few escaped; the forage was recaptured, and Heliot de Plaisac taken and carried to la Rochelle.

Shortly afterward, these lords marched to the castle of Bouteville, which was soon and easily taken, for scarcely any one was within it.

Thus was Bouteville gained by the French, to the great joy of all the country round about. Heliot de Plaisac remained in prison for a long time.

CHAP. XIII.

SIR THOMAS TRIVET RETURNS TO ENGLAND WITH HIS COMPANIONS.—HIS HERALD RELATES TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER THE PARTICULARS OF THE DEATH OF KING HENRY OF CASTILLE, AND THE CORONATION OF HIS ELDEST SON DON JOHN.

AT this time, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmen, and the other knights who had been in Spain to the assistance of the king of Navarre, returned to England. They immediately waited on the king, who at that time resided at Chertsey: his two uncles, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, were with him.

These

These knights were graciously received by the king and his lords ; and many questions were asked concerning the news of the countries they came from : they told all they knew ; how the war had been carried on in Spain and Navarre, and how those two kings had concluded a peace, relating exactly the articles of the treaties, and also that the king of Navarre had married his eldest son to a daughter of king Henry.

The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge were very pensive on hearing this intelligence, for they had considered themselves as heirs to all Spain in right of their wives: they inquired at what time king Henry had died, and if the Spaniards had crowned his son king.

Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmen answered ; ‘ My dear lords, when king Henry the bastard died, we were not at the coronation of his son ; for at that time we had retreated into Navarre ; but we have a herald who was present, and you may, if you please, learn from him every particular concerning it.’

The herald was called in, and the duke desired he would relate how every thing passed. He answered ; ‘ My lords, I will comply with your request, and tell you all. While these knights were at Pampeluna, waiting the conclusion of the treaties, I remained by their permission with the king of Navarre, and was much respected by him and by his people. I left Pampeluna, and accompanied him to St. Domingo, where, on his approach, king Henry came out to meet him with a numerous train, as a proof of his affection.

‘ The

‘The king of Navarre and his people were treated with much honour: in the evening he was entertained with a very handsome supper. While at table, news was brought that a wild boar was discovered in the adjoining moors: a hunting party was directly formed for the morrow. The two kings and their huntsmen were present; the boar was taken; and they returned to St. Domingo in the most friendly manner.

‘The next day, king Henry set out for Pierre-ferrade*, to keep an appointment he had made with his people. He was there seized with an illness, of which he died. The king of Navarre was told of it as he was on his road to visit him: he returned back much vexed thereat. I then took my leave of him, and went to Castille to learn what was going forward.

‘King Henry died on Whitsunday. Shortly after,

* Pierre-ferrade. Q. I cannot find any thing like this name in the map near to St. Domingo. There is Pon-ferrada on the western borders of Léon, but that appears to be too distant.

Denys Sauvage does not seem to understand this passage.

Moreri says, Henry died at St. Domingo.

Ferreras, in his history of Spain, says, the vulgar report was, that Henry was poisoned by means of a handsome pair of buskins, which Mahomet king of Granada sent him as a present, lest, when having made peace with the king of Navarre, he might turn his arms against him. Ferreras himself seems to doubt it. He died at Saint Domingo la Calçada, 29th May 1374. The infant John was instantly proclaimed king, and left St. Domingo for Burgos, carrying with him the body of his father, which he deposited there, in order for its being transported to Toledo,

sage to Scotland, and salute the king and barons, with the assurance that we and our realm are willing to enter into treaties with them on the footing of good friends, in order that, when the season shall be favourable, we may send over troops, to be there admitted in the like manner as the practice has been with our predecessors in former times: and in your journeys thither and back again, as well as during your residence, you will take care to keep such state as shall become an ambassador from the king; for such is our will; and every expense shall be repaid you.' The knight answered, 'Sire, your orders shall be obeyed.'

He did not delay his journey long after this; but, when his preparations were ready, he took leave of the king, and set out from Paris, continuing his route until he came to Sluys in Flanders. He waited there for a wind, which being unfavourable, detained him fifteen days. During this time he lived magnificently; and gold and silver plate were in such profusion in the apartments as if he had been a prince. He had also music to announce his dinner, and caused to be carried before him a sword in a scabbard, richly blazoned with his arms in gold and silver. His servants paid well for every thing.

Many of the townspeople were much astonished at the great state this knight lived in at home, which he also maintained when he went abroad. The bailiff of the town, who was an officer under the earl of Flanders, had noticed this conduct, and could not remain silent on the subject, for which he was to blame, but went and informed the earl of

CHAP. XIV.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS STOPS THE PROGRESS
OF AN AMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF
FRANCE TO SCOTLAND : THIS CAUSES GREAT
DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THEM.

KING Charles, who at this time governed France, was very sagacious and subtile, as his conduct shewed ; for, though he never quitted his closet or his amusements, he re-conquered all that his predecessors had lost in the field at the head of their armies, for which he was greatly to be commended.

Now, because the king of France knew that king Robert of Scotland, and that whole kingdom, bore a mortal hatred to the English (for never can these two kingdoms love each other), that a better understanding between him and the Scots might be continued, he determined to send one of his knights, and a secretary to his council, to king Robert and the Scots, to treat with them ; to examine the state of that country, and see whether they were in a condition to carry on any effectual war : for Evan of Wales had during his life-time informed him, that the most certain way of disturbing England was through Scotland.

The king of France, having well considered this matter, had various ideas on the subject ; and, having fixed his plan, he called to him one of his knights, a prudent man, named sir Peter lord de Bournezel, and said ; ' You will carry this message

sage to Scotland, and salute the king and barons, with the assurance that we and our realm are willing to enter into treaties with them on the footing of good friends, in order that, when the season shall be favourable, we may send over troops, to be there admitted in the like manner as the practice has been with our predecessors in former times: and in your journeys thither and back again, as well as during your residence, you will take care to keep such state as shall become an ambassador from the king; for such is our will; and every expense shall be repaid you.' The knight answered, 'Sire, your orders shall be obeyed.'

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of it, who at the time resided at Bruges, and his cousin the duke of Brittany with him.

The earl of Flanders having considered a while, with the advice of the duke of Brittany, ordered the ambassador to be brought thither. The bailiff returned to Sluys, and came very uncourteously to the king's knight ; for he laid his hand on him, and arrested him in the name of the earl.

The knight was exceedingly surprised at this proceeding : he told the bailiff, that he was ambassador and commissioner from the king of France. The bailiff said, 'that might be ; but he must speak with the earl, who had ordered him to be conducted into his presence.' The knight could not by any means excuse himself from being carried to Bruges with all his attendants. When he was brought into the apartments of the earl, he and the duke of Brittany were leaning on a window which looked into the gardens. The knight cast himself on his knees before the earl, and said, 'My lord, I am your prisoner.' At which words, the earl was mightily enraged, and replied with passion ; ' How, rascal, do you dare to call yourself my prisoner when I have only sent to speak with you ? The subjects of my lord may very freely come and speak with me ; but thou hast ill acquitted thyself by remaining so long at Sluys without coming to visit me, when thou knewest I was so near ; but, I suppose, thou disdainedst it.' ' My lord,' answered the knight, ' saving your displeasure'— He was interrupted by the duke of Brittany, who said, ' It is

by

by such tattlers and jesters of the parliament of Paris, and of the king's chamber, as you, that the kingdom is governed ; and you manage the king as you please, to do good or evil according to your wills: there is not a prince of the blood, however great he may be, if he incur your hatred, who will be listened to: but such fellows shall yet be hanged, until the gibbets be full of them.'

The knight, who was still on his knees, was much mortified by these words: he saw that it was better for him to be silent than to make any reply: he did not therefore answer, but quitted the presence of the earl and his lords, when he found an opportunity. Some worthy people who were with the earl made way for him, and carried him to refresh himself.

The knight afterwards mounted his horse, and returned to his hôtel in Sluys, where I will tell you what happened to him. Although all his stores were embarked, and there was a favourable wind for Scotland, he would not fail and risk the dangers of the sea; for he was warned that he was watched by the English who resided in Sluys, and that, if he should fail, he would be taken, and carried to England. Through fear of this happening, he gave up his intended voyage, quitted Sluys, and returned to the king at Paris.

You may easily imagine, that the lord de Bournezel was not long before he told the king all that had befallen him in Flanders: he related every thing exactly as it had happened. It was necessary he should do so by way of excusing himself for not having

having obeyed his orders, as the king was very much surprised at his return.

When sir Peter was relating the events of this journey, there were present several knights of the king's chamber: in particular, sir John de Guistelles of Hainault, a cousin to the earl of Flanders, who mutteringly repeated the words of sir Peter; so that, thinking the knight had spoken too freely of the earl of Flanders, he could not contain himself, but said; 'I cannot thus hear my dear cousin the earl of Flanders so slightingly spoken of; and if, sir knight, you mean to affirm for truth all you have said, and assert that he by his act prevented you from fulfilling your orders, I challenge you to the field, and here is my glove.'

The lord de Bournezel was not slow to reply; 'Sir John, I say that I was thus arrested and conducted by the bailiff of Sluys, and brought before the earl of Flanders; and that every word which I have spoken as from that earl and the duke of Brittany were said by them; and if you wish to say any thing to the contrary, and that it was not so, I will take up your glove.' 'I do say so,' replied the lord de Guistelles.

At these words, the king looked very grave, and said, 'Come, come; we will hear no more of this.' He then retired into his closet, attended by his chamberlains, very well pleased that sir Peter had so frankly spoken, and had so well answered sir John de Guistelles. He said to them smiling, 'He has kept his ground well: I would not for twenty thousand francs it had not so happened.'

Sir

Sir John de Guistelles, who was one of the king's chamberlains, was afterwards so ill at court, and received with so much coldness, that he noticed it, and wished not to abide the consequences: he therefore took leave of the king, and went to Brabant to duke Wenceslaus, who retained him in his service.

With regard to the king of France, he was much angered with the earl of Flanders; for it appeared to several of the kingdom, that he had prevented the lord de Bournezel from continuing his journey to Scotland. He had also entertained his cousin the duke of Brittany, who was greatly out of favour with the king of France. Those who were near the person of the king easily saw that the earl of Flanders was not in his good graces.

Shortly after this event, the king of France wrote very sharp letters to his cousin the earl of Flanders, which contained also menaces, for that he had supported and kept with him the duke of Brittany, whom he considered as his enemy.

The earl wrote back again, and made the best excuses he could. These were, however, of no avail; for the king of France sent him sharper letters, in which he declared, that if he did not send away his enemy the duke of Brittany, he would look upon him in the same light. When the earl of Flanders saw the manner in which the king took it, and that he would follow it up, he considered with himself (for he had a quick imagination), and resolved to shew these menaces to his principal towns, more especially to Ghent, to know what an-

swer they would wish him to send. He dispatched copies to Bruges, Ypres and Courtray ; and he set out with the duke of Brittany for Ghent, where they were lodged at the postern gate. He was received by the citizens with very great joy, for at that time they were much pleased to have him among them. When the deputies from the other towns were arrived, according to their orders, the count had them assembled ; and John de la Faucille harangued them, in his name, on the cause of his meeting them : he read to them the letters which had been received within the last two months from the king of France. After these letters had been read, the earl spoke as follows : ' My children, and good people of Flanders, through God's grace, I have been for a long time your lord : I have governed you in peace as much as was in my power ; and you have never seen any thing in me but a desire to maintain you in prosperity, as a good lord should act in regard to his subjects. It must be very displeasing to me, and to you also who are my faithful subjects, that I shold incur the hatred of my lord the king, because I keep with me my cousin-german the duke of Brittany, who at this time is not in favour with the court of France ; nor, in truth, can he place any dependance on his vassals of Brittany, through the hatred of five or six of his barons. The king infests that I banish him my house and territories, which would be very extraordinary. I do not say but that if I should assist my cousin in opposition to France, the king might have cause to complain : but I have neither done so,

nor have I any such inclinations. It is for this cause I have assembled you, to explain to you the dangers that might happen if you should be desirous for him to remain with me.'

They answered unanimously ; ' My lord, we do wish him to remain with you : and we know not that prince, however great he may be, who should resolve to make war upon you, but who would find in your earldom of Flanders two hundred thousand men completely armed.'

This reply was very agreeable to the earl of Flanders, who said, ' My good children, I thank you.' The assembly now broke up ; and the earl was so well pleased that he gave them permission to return to their own homes in peace. The earl, at a proper time, returned to Bruges in company with the duke of Brittany. Things remained in this situation. The earl was very popular with his subjects, and the country continued in peace and prosperity : this, however, did not last long, through extraordinary wickedness, which brought on great tribulation, as you will hear related in this history.

CHAP. XV.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETIRES FROM FLANDERS
TO ENGLAND.—THE YOUNG COUNT DE ST. POL,
WHILE A PRISONER IN ENGLAND, MARRIES.

THE king of France was punctually informed of every thing that had passed, and the speech which the earl of Flanders had made. He did not love him the better for this: but, as he could not remedy it, he thought it more prudent to overlook it: he declared, however, that the earl was the proudest prince alive. From the king's manner, it was visible he was the lord he would most willingly have humbled, both for his pride and for his opposition to his desires.

The earl of Flanders, notwithstanding the king of France had written to say he was very much displeased at his keeping the duke of Brittany with him, did not send him away, but entertained him as long as he wished to stay, and gave him a handsome establishment. At last, the duke was advised to visit England, which he likewise wished to see: he took leave of the earl his cousin, and went to Gravelines, where he was met by the earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men at arms and a thousand archers, for fear of the french garrisons, and conducted to Calais: sir Hugh Calverley, the governor, received him with all respect.

When

When the duke had staid at Calais five days, having a favourable wind, he embarked with the earl of Salisbury, and landed at Dover, and from thence went to the young king Richard, who received them with much joy ; as did also the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, and the great barons of England.

You have before heard how sir Valeran de Luxembourg, the young count de St. Pol, had been made prisoner in a battle between Ardres and Calais, and had been carried to England under the king's pleasure, who had purchased him of the lord de Gommegines : for the lord de Gommegines had set on foot this expedition, in which the count had been made a prisoner by a squire, a good man at arms, from the country of Gueldres.

The young count de St. Pol remained long time a prisoner in England, without being ransomed : true it is, that the king of England, during the life-time of the captal de Buch, offered him several times to the king of France and to his allies in exchange for the captal ; but neither the king of France nor his council would listen to it, nor give up the captal in exchange, to the great dissatisfaction of the king of England.

Things remained for some time in this situation. The count de St. Pol had an agreeable prison in the beautiful castle of Windsor, and was allowed the liberty of amusing himself with hawking wherever he pleased in the environs of Westminster and Windsor : he was thus trusted on the faith of his word.

The

The princess, mother of king Richard, resided at that time at Windsor, with her daughter, the lady Maude, the most beautiful woman in England. The young count de St. Pol and this lady fell loyally in love with each other : they frequently met at dancings, carollings, and at other amusements ; so that it was suspected the young lady tenderly loved the count, and she discovered the whole to her mother.

A treaty of marriage was then entered into between the count de St. Pol and the lady Maude Holland : the count was ransomed for six score thousand francs ; of which one half was to be remitted on his marriage, the remainder he was to pay. When the treaty had been concluded between the young people, the king of England granted permission for the count to cross the sea, in order to procure his ransom, on his promise to return within the year.

The count went to France to see his friends, the king and his cousins of France, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, and also duke Albert.

In this year, a cruel charge was laid against the count de St. Pol : he was accused of an intention to deliver up to the English the strong castle of Bouchain. The king ordered him to be arrested and closely guarded, declaring that the count in fact meant to have entered into treaties inimical towards him ; from which charge the count could never clear himself. On this occasion also, the lord canon de Robefart, the lord de Vertaing, sir

James

James du Sart and Gerard d'Obies were imprisoned in the castle of Mons in Hainault.

This charge at length came to nothing; for, the king of France not being able to prove any thing against them, they were set at liberty. The young count returned to England, to acquit himself of his engagement to the king, and to marry his bride. He paid the sixty thousand francs according to his obligation, and re-crossed the sea, but did not enter France, for the king disliked him much.

The count and countess went therefore to reside at the castle of Han sur Heure, which the lord de Moriane, who had married his sister, lent them; and there they remained during the life of the king of France; for the count could never regain his love.

We will now leave these things, and return to the affairs of France,

CHAP. XVI.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAKES WAR ON BRITTANY.

—SIR WILLIAM DES BORDES IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE GARRISON OF CHERBOURG.

AT this period, all Brittany was armed, as well against the duke as against the French. Several of the principal towns had a good understanding

standing with the duke, and wondered he was not sent for back : there were also many knights and squires of Brittany of the same opinion ; and, by means of a treaty, the countess de Penthièvre, mother to the children of Charles de Blois, was not averse to his return. But sir Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, the lords de Clisson, de Laval, the viscount de Rohan and the lord de Rochefort kept the country in a state of warfare with the force sent them from France. At Pontorson, St. Malo, and in that neighbourhood, were great numbers of men at arms from France, Normandy, Auvergne, and Burgundy, who committed very great devastations.

The duke of Brittany, who was in England, received full information of all this, and that the duke of Anjou, who resided at Angers, was carrying the war into his country : he heard also that the principal towns had armed themselves against the French, as well as several knights and squires, in his name, for which he felt himself much obliged.

But, notwithstanding all these favourable symptoms, he was afraid to return to Brittany with full confidence in them, for he was always suspicious of some treason : neither did his own council, the king of England, nor duke of Lancaster advise him to go thither.

Sir William des Bordes maintained the garrisons in Normandy and Valognes of which he was captain : he had with him the deputy séneschal of Eu, sir William Marcel, sir Braque de Braquemont, the lord

lord de Torcy, sir Perceval d'Ayneval, the bëgue d'Yury, sir Lancelot de Lorris, with many other knights and squires, who, day and night, employed their thoughts in devising how they could damage Cherbourg, of which sir John Harlestone was governor.

The garrison of Cherbourg made as frequent sallies as they pleased ; for they could do so without any one knowing of it, through the extensive forest with which they were surrounded. They had made a road through the wood in such a manner that they could overrun part of Normandy without danger from the French.

It fell out that both garrisons made an excursion the same day without the knowledge of each other, and by accident met at a place called Pastoy es Bois. When they met, like knights and squires desirous of fighting, they all dismounted except sir Lancelot de Lorris, who remained on horseback, his lance in its rest, and his target on his neck, requesting a tilt in honour of his lady.

Several heard his demand ; for there were also among the English some knights and squires who had bound themselves in like manner by vows of love to their ladies. I believe it was sir John Copeland, a hardy knight, who accepted his challenge. Then, spurring their horses, they charged each other very gallantly, and gave dreadful blows on their targets. Sir Lancelot was, however, so severely struck by the english knight that his shield and other armour were pierced through, and him-
self

self mortally wounded. It was a great pity, for he was an expert knight, young, handsome, and much in love. He was there and elsewhere sincerely lamented.

The French and English then attacked each other, fighting hand to hand. On the part of the French, sir William des Bordes, the deputy sénéchal of Eu, sir William Marcel, sir Braque de Braquemont, and the others, shewed themselves good knights, and fought manfully. Sir John Harlestone, sir Philip Picourde, sir John Burley, sir John Copeland, and the rest of the English behaved as well ; and, from their superior fighting, they at last won the day. The french knights and squires were either taken or slain : in particular, a squire from Hainault, called William de Beaulieu, and sir William des Bordes were made prisoners. They were conducted to Cherbourg, where they met sir Oliver du Guesclin, who was a prisoner also.

Thus ended this busines, as I was informed.

CHAP. XVII.

**GEOFFRY TETE-NOIR AND AIMERIGOT MARCEL,
CAPTAINS ATTACHED TO ENGLAND, TAKE
SEVERAL STRONG PLACES IN AUVERGNE AND
LIMOUSIN FROM THE FRENCH.**

THREE happened daily in Auvergne and Limousin feasts of arms, and wonderful enterprises; more especially in the neighbourhood of the castle of Ventadour in Auvergne, which is one of the strongest places in all that country. It was sold or betrayed to the most cruel of all Bretons, called Geoffry Tête-noir. I will relate how this happened.

The count de Ventadour de Montpensier was an ancient knight and honourable man, who no longer took part in the wars, but remained peacefully in his castle: this knight had a squire or varlet, called Ponce du Bois, who had served him for a length of time without having profited much by his service: seeing that henceforward he should have no opportunities of gaining riches, he determined, by bad advice, to enrich himself, and in consequence entered into a secret treaty with Geoffry Tête-noir, who resided in Limousin, to deliver up the castle of Ventadour to him for the sum of six thousand francs. This was agreed to; but he had inserted among the conditions that no harm

harm should be done to his master, the count de Ventadour, and that he should be put out of his castle in a courteous manner, and that every thing of his should be restored to him.

This was complied with, for the Bretons and English who entered the castle did not in the smallest degree hurt the count nor his people, and only retained the stores and artillery, of which there were great plenty.

The count de Ventadour went to reside at Montpensier*, with his wife and children, beyond Aigueperse in Auvergne.

Geoffry Tête-noir and his troops kept possession of Ventadour; from whence they ravaged the country, and took many strong castles in Auvergne, Rouergue, Limousin, Quercy, Gevaudan, Bigorre, and in the Agenois, one after the other.

With this Geoffry Tête-noir, there were other captains, who performed many excellent deeds of arms, as Aimerigot Marcel, a limousin squire attached to the english party, who took the strong castle of Caffuriel, situated in the bishoprick of Clermont in Auvergne; from whence the above-mentioned Aimerigot and his companions overran the country at their pleasure. Captains of other castles were also in his company, such as the bourg Calart, the bourg Anglois, the bourg de Champagne, Raymond de Force, a Gascon, and Peter de Béarn, a Béarnois.

* Montpensier,—a town in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont, near Aigueperse.

Aimerigot

Aimerigot made one day an excursion, with only twelve companions, to seek adventures: they took the road towards Aloise, near St. Flour, which has a handsome castle in the bishoprick of Clermont: they knew the castle was only guarded by the porter. As they were riding silently towards Aloise, Aimerigot spies the porter fitting on the trunk of a tree withoutside of the castle: a Breton, who shot extraordinarily well with a crossbow, says to him, 'Would you like to have that porter killed at a shot?' 'Yes,' replied Aimerigot; 'and I beg you will do so.' The cross-bowman shoots a bolt, which he drives into the porter's head, and knocks him down: the porter, feeling himself mortally wounded, regains the gate, which he attempts to shut, but cannot, and falls down dead.

Aimerigot and his companions hasten to the castle, which they enter by the wicket, and see the porter lying dead and his wife distracted beside him: they do her no harm, but enquire where the constable of the castle is: she replies that he is at Clermont. They promise to spare her life, if she will give them the keys of the castle and of the dungeon; which when she has done, for she could not any way defend herself, they shut her out, having given her what belonged to her, and indeed as much as she could carry away.

She went to St. Flour, which is but a league off: the inhabitants were much frightened, as well as all the adjoining country, when they heard that Aloise was become English.

Soon

Soon after this, Aimerigot Marcel re-captured the strong castle of Balon by surprise ; the governor was asleep in the great tower, when he scaled the walls, for the place was not easy to be taken by force ; but, by means of this tower, the castle might be gained.

Aimerigot, therefore, thought of a subtle trick : having possession of the father and mother of the governor, he ordered them to be led in sight of the tower, making every preparation to behead them, if the son did not surrender himself. These good people thought they were instantly to be murdered, and cried out to their son to take compassion on them, bewailing most lamentably their unfortunate lot.

The governor was much affected : he could not suffer his parents to be put to death : he therefore surrendered the tower, when the whole family were thrust out of the castle. Thus did Balon belong to the English, a circumstance which, in its consequences, much harassed the country ; for all sorts of people who wished to do evil retired thither, or to Cassuriel, two leagues from Limoges, to Carlat, to Aloise, to Ventadour, or to some other such castles.

When these garrifons were all collected in a body, they might amount to five or six hundred lances : they overran the whole country, and the territories of the count dauphin d'Auvergne, situated at no great distance from their garrison ; for none ventured to oppose them when thus collected together. It is true, the lord de Chupier
was

was a great enemy to them; as were the lord de Forterel and the bastard de Forterel, his brother, and a squire from the Bourbonnois called Gordomes. This Gordomes, one day meeting Aimerigot Marcel, by a gallant exploit, took him prisoner, and ransomed him for five thousand francs: so much did he gain for him. Thus was the war carried on in Auvergne, Limousin and the adjoining countries.

CHAP. XVIII.

A SCHISM IN THE CHURCH.—THE CAUSE OF IT.—THE BRETONS MAKE WAR ON THE ROMANS.—THE QUEEN OF NAPLES GIVES UP HER TERRITORIES TO POPE CLEMENT VII.

I HAVE been a long while silent on the affairs of the church: I now return to them, for it is become necessary. You have before heard how the cardinals, to appease the roman populace, who were very much enraged against them, had chosen for pope the archbishop of Bari, whose name, before his elevation, was Bartholomew Prignano: he afterwards assumed that of Urban VI. and gave indulgences according to the usual custom.

The cardinals intended, on a proper opportunity, to make another election: for this pope, being choleric and obstinate, was neither profitable to them nor to the church; so that when he found himself invested

invested with the powers of papacy, in consequence of which many princes of Christendom had written to him to acknowledge their obedience, he became very haughty, and desirous of retrenching the powers of the cardinals, and depriving them of several of their rights and accustomed prerogatives.

This conduct was highly displeasing to them : they held a meeting, and declared that he would never do them any service, and was beside unfit to govern the Christian world. Several proposed to elect another, more wise and prudent, and better able to govern the church. The whole body were eager for this, more especially that cardinal who was afterwards elected pope.

During the whole summer, the affair continued in suspense ; for those who wished a new election dared not publicly declare their intentions for fear of the Romans. About the time of the vacations, many cardinals left Rome to amuse themselves in different places in the neighbourhood. Urban went to a city called Tivoli, where he remained a considerable time. During these vacations or terms, (that lasted not long, for there were many clergy from different parts of the world at Rome, waiting for graces which had been promised, some of whom had been collated to churches,) the refractory cardinals assembled to elect a pope, and their unanimous choice fell on sir Robert de Geneva, son to the count of Geneva, whose first promotion had been to the bishoprick of Terouenne, then to the archbishoprick of Cambray, and at last cardinal of Geneva. The greater number of cardinals attended this

this election. The new pope took the name of Clement.

At this period, Silvester Budes, a valiant knight from Brittany, was in the country near Rome, and had under him upwards of two thousand Bretons, who in the late years had done much against the Florentines, whom pope Gregory had made war upon and excommunicated for their rebellion ; but, through the intercession of Silvester Budes, they had been pardoned.

Pope Clement and the cardinals of his party, sent secretly for him and his troops. He marched directly into the strong castle of St. Angelo, in the village of St. Peter, the better to check the Romans.

Pope Urban, and the cardinals attached to him were afraid to quit Tivoli, though they very much wished it, on account of these Bretons ; for they were determined men, who murdered all whom they met in opposition to them.

The Romans, on finding how dangerously they were situated, sent for other soldiers, Germans and Lombards, who daily skirmished with the Bretons. Clement granted indulgences to all the clergy who wished for them, and published his election throughout the world.

When king Charles of France was informed of this, he was much astonished : he summoned his brothers and all the great barons, the prelates, the rector and principal doctors of the university of Paris, to know which of the two popes, the first or the last, he ought to pay obedience to. This matter was not soon determined, for the clergy were

of divided opinions : but, in the end, all the prelates in France inclined to Clement, as did the king's brothers and the majority of the university of Paris. The king received so much instruction and information at this assembly from the most learned of the clergy, that he put himself under the obedience of Clement, whom he held for the true and loyal pope. He then published an edict throughout his realm for every person to consider Clement as pope, and to obey him as a god upon earth.

The king of Spain was of the same opinion ; as were the earl of Savoy, the duke of Milan and the queen of Naples.

Clement having gained the king of France, his cause acquired great credit ; for the kingdom of France is the fountain of faith and of excellence, from the grand churches which are established there and the noble prelatures.

Charles of Bohemia, king of Germany and emperor of Rome, was still living : he resided at Prague in Bohemia, where he had heard of all these things to his great astonishment. However, his empire of Germany, excepting the bishoprick of Trext*, was so strongly inclined in their faith to Urban, that they would not hear mention made of another. The emperor dissembled as long as he lived, and replied so courteously, whenever any conversation passed on this subject, that his barons and prelates were quite satisfied. Notwithstanding

* Trext. Q. Trent.

this,

this, the churches in the empire obeyed Urban; but the whole of Scotland acknowledged Clement.

Earl Lewis of Flanders oppressed very much the Clementists in Brabant, Hainault and Liege; for he was a determined Urbanist, and said that this pope had been scandalously treated. The earl was so much believed and loved in the parts where he resided, that on his sole account, the churches and landholders followed his opinion. But those of Hainault, with the churches and their appendages, as well as their sovereign, called Albert, remained neuter, and obeyed neither one nor other of the popes; for which reason the archbishop of Cambrai at that time, called John, lost his temporalities in Hainault.

Pope Clement, about this time, sent the cardinal de Poitiers, a very prudent and wise man, to France, Hainault, Flanders and Brabant, to preach and to instruct the people; for he had been present at the first conclave, and could well explain that through fear they had elected the archbishop of Bari to the papacy.

The king of France, his brothers and the prelates of that realm, received him very graciously, and listened attentively to his words and doctrines, which seemed to carry truth with them, and to be of a nature to engage their whole faith. On leaving France, he went to Hainault, where he was received with joy. He was also received in the same manner by the duke and duchess of Brabant, but gained nothing more. He thought of calling at Liege on his return, but was advised to the con-

trary, and therefore returned to Tournay, intending to visit Flanders from thence, and converse with the earl : however, he did not ; for it was signified to him from the earl, that he would have nothing to say to him, considering Urban as pope, and in that opinion would live and die.

The cardinal went from Tournay to Valenciennes, and from thence to Cambray, where he staid a long time in hopes of receiving good news.

Thus was the Christian world divided, and the churches differed in regard to which was the legal pope. Urban had the larger number ; but the most profitable in revenue and obedience fell to Clement.

Clement, by the advice of his cardinals, sent to have the palace at Avignon prepared for him ; for it was his intention to retire thither as soon as he was able. In the interim, he resided at Fondi, where he granted his indulgences to all such clergy as were desirous of having them.

Large bodies of soldiers occupied the plains and villages near Rome, and made war upon that city and the village of St. Peter, which they attacked day and night ; whilst those who were in the castle of St. Angelo gave much disturbance to the Romans. The inhabitants, having strengthened themselves by many german soldiers, collected together, and in one day conquered the village of St. Peter : such Bretons as were able, secured themselves in the castle of St. Angelo ; but they were so much harassed, as to surrender the castle on having their lives spared, and retreat towards Fondi, and to the

flat

flat country thereabouts. The Romans dismantled the castle of St. Angelo, and burnt the village of St. Peter.

When sir Silvester Budes who was still in that country heard that his people had lost the village of St. Peter and the castle of St. Angelo, he was much vexed, and thought how he could revenge himself on the Romans. He learnt from his spies, that the principal persons from the city were to meet in council at the capitol; upon which he planned an enterprize of men at arms, whom he had retained near him, and rode that day through bye roads to Rome, which he entered by the gate leading to Naples. On his arrival, he made directly for the capitol, and came there so opportunely that the council had just left their hall, and were in the square. These Bretons, couching their spears and spurring their horses, charged the Romans full gallop, and slew and wounded numbers of the principal persons of the city. Among those that lay dead in the square, were seven banners and two hundred other rich men: a great many more were wounded.

When the Bretons had performed this exploit, they retreated, as it was evening: they were not pursued, on account of the night, and because the Romans were so frightened that they could only attend on their friends. They passed the night in great anguish of heart, burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded.

The next morning, they bethought themselves of an act of cruelty, which they put into execution: they

they attacked the poor clergy who resided in Rome, and who had not been guilty of the smallest fault, slew and wounded upwards of three hundred; but, in particular, they shewed no mercy to any Bretons who fell into their hands.

In this miserable situation was Rome and its neighbourhood, on account of two popes; and those who had not been any way concerned in the business paid dearly for it.

Pope Clement and his cardinals resided at Fondi, where the queen of Naples came to visit and encourage him; for she and her subjects were attached to him as pope, and anxious to support him as such.

The queen of Naples* had entertained an idea for a considerable time of surrendering the kingdom of Sicily and county of Provence, which were dependencies on her crown, into the hands of the pope, for him to give according to his will, as an inheritance, to any prince of high birth in France, but who must have the means of defending her against those of the house of Hungary, whom she mortally hated.

On the queen's arrival at Fondi, she bumbled herself before the pope, and, having confessed herself to him, related all her affairs without disguise, adding; 'Holy father, I possess several great and noble inheritances; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria, and the county of Provence. In truth, king Lewis of Sicily, duke of

* The queen of Naples,—the celebrated Joan. Her history is differently related from Froissart's account.

in Puglia and Calabria, my father, during his life-time, acknowledged holding these territories from the church, and, taking my hand on his death-bed, said to me; 'My good child, you are heiress of a very extensive and rich country; and I believe that many princes will endeavour to obtain you for a wife on account of the handsome territories you will possess. Now, I would recommend you to follow my advice, which is, to unite yourself with a powerful prince, who will be able to keep your kingdoms in peace; and should it so happen that, through God's will, you have not any heirs, yield to whoever may be at the time pope all your territories; for king Robert, my father, so charged me on his death-bed, which is the reason, my dear daughter, I order you so to do, and discharge myself from it.' Holy father, I promised to comply with his wishes, and pledged my faith, in the presence of all who were in the chamber, to fulfil his last request.

'In truth, holy father, after his decease, with the consent of the nobles of Sicily and Naples, I wedded Andrew of Hungary, brother to Lewis king of Hungary, by whom I had not any children; for he died a young man, at Aix in Provence*.

'After his death, they married me to Charles

* She had him murdered, and thrown out of a window at Aversa, where he lay for several days, and was at last interred secretly by his nurse, who was very fond of him, and a canon of St. Januarius, in the cathedral of Naples. The whole tale which relates is very incorrect.

prince of Taranto, by whom I had a daughter. The king of Hungary, being angry that his brother died, made war on my husband, the lord Charles, and took from him la Puglia and Calabria: he also made him prisoner in battle, carried him to Hungary, where he died during his confinement.

After this, with the consent of my nobility, I was united to James king of Majorca, who went to France for the lord Louis de Navarre to come and marry my daughter, but he died on the road. The king of Majorca left me with the intention to reconquer his kingdom of Majorca, which the king of Arragon kept from him by force; for he had put his father to death in prison, and disinherited the son. I told the king, my husband, that I was sufficiently rich to maintain him in as pompous a stile as he should please; but he insisted so much, and gave such plausible reasons for recovering his inheritance, that I consented, with a half willing mind, for him to act as he pleased; but, on his departure, I particularly enjoined him to go to king Charles of France, and explain to him his business, and to follow what he should advise: this, however, he totally neglected to do, and ill consequences resulted from it; for he went to the prince of Wales, in whom he had greater confidence than in the king of France, who is my relation, and who promised to assist him in his undertaking.

However, during the time he was on this expedition, I wrote and sent ambassadors to the king of France, to desire he would send me a nobleman of the blood royal, to whom I might give my daughter,

that

that our territories should not be without heirs. The king of France attended to my proposals, for which I thank him, and sent me his cousin Robert d'Artois, whom I married to my daughter.

‘Holy father, my husband, the king of Majorca, died during his expedition: I then married the lord Otho of Brunswick. The lord Charles Durazzo, seeing that the lord Otho would enjoy my inheritance during my life, made war upon us, and took us prisoners in the Castle del Ovo, when the sea was so high that it seemed to cover us. We were all so much frightened that we surrendered ourselves, on our lives being spared. The lord Charles detained in prison my husband, myself, my daughter and her husband so long that the two last died. We gained our liberty afterwards by a treaty, which gave up to him la Puglia and Calabria; and he now looks to inherit Naples, Sicily and Provence; for which reason he seeks alliances every where, and will set aside the rights of the church as soon as I shall be dead, or at least he will do every thing in his power to accomplish it.

‘Wherefore, holy father, as I wish to acquit myself towards God, you, and the souls of my predecessors, I now place in your hands all the territories which belong to me, of Sicily, Naples, la Puglia, Calabria and Provence, and give them up to you to dispose of to whomsoever shall be to you the most agreeable, and who shall be able to conquer them from our enemy Charles Durazzo.’

‘Pope Clement heard this speech with pleasure, and received the gift in great reverence, replying,

‘My

‘ My daughter of Naples, we will take such measures that your territories shall have an heir of your noble and powerful blood, and who shall be fully able to resist all who may wish to oppose him.’

Public and authentic acts were drawn up of all these gifts, so that they might in future establish the right, and make every thing clear to those who in times to come may hear of them*.

CHAP. XIX.

POPE CLEMENT GOES TO AVIGNON.—HE MAKES THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS.—SIR SILVESTER BUDES AND HIS COMPANIONS ARE BEHEADED.

WHEN the queen of Naples and the lord Otho of Brunswick had concluded with the pope, the object of their journey to Fondi, and had remained there to amuse themselves as long as they chose, they took leave, and returned to Naples. Pope Clement thought it would not be for his advantage to remain longer so near Rome. Having learnt that Urban and the Romans were labouring hard to gain the love of the Neapolitans and the lord Charles Durazzo, he was alarmed lest the roads to Avignon should be so blocked up by sea and land that he would not get thither, which he was very desirous to accomplish.

* For further accounts of her life, see Bayle's dictionary. What

What made him the more eager to arrive at Avignon was his wish to present as a gift, without prejudice or violation, those rights which the queen of Naples had given him over the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to the duke of Anjou, and which had been legally signed and sealed.

He therefore prudently arranged his affairs in secret, and embarked on board the galleys which had been sent from Arragon, attended by his cardinals and their families: having favourable winds, they arrived, without accident, at Marseilles, to the great joy of the people in those parts: thence the pope went to Avignon, and sent information of his arrival to the king of France and his brothers, who were much pleased thereat.

The duke of Anjou, who at that time resided at Toulouse, waited on him. The pope, immediately on his arrival, presented him with all those powers with which the queen of Naples had invested him.

The duke of Anjou, who was ever ambitious to be possessed of honours and large possessions, received these gifts most gratefully, and accepted them for himself and his heirs, telling his holiness, that as soon as he was able, he would visit those countries with such a force as should enable him to resist all the enemies of the queen of Naples. The duke remained with the pope about fifteen days, and then returned to Toulouse to the duchess and his children. The pope gave the command of his men at arms to sir Bernard de la Salle and to Florimond Guerrier.

At this period, there was in Tuscany a right valiant

Want english knight, called sir John Hawkwood*, who had there performed many most gallant deeds of arms: he had left France at the conclusion of the peace of Bretigny, and was at that time a poor knight, who thought it would not be of any advantage to him to return home; but when he saw, that by the treaties, all men at arms would be forced to leave France, he put himself at the head of those free companies called Late-comers, and marched into Burgundy. Several such companies, composed of English, Gascons, Bretons, Germans, and of men from every nation, were collected there. Hawkwood was one of the principal leaders, with Bricquet and Carnelle, by whom the battle of Brignais was fought, and who aided Bernard de la Salle to take the Pont du St. Esprit.

When they had harassed the country for some time, the marquis de Montferrat made a treaty with them to assist him in his war with the lords of Milan. This marquis led them over the Alps, after he had paid them sixty thousand francs, of which Hawkwood received, for himself and his troops, ten thousand.

When they had finished the war for the marquis, the greater part of them returned to France; for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lords de la Marche, de Beaujeu, and sir Arnold d'Andregken marshal

* Sir John Hawkwood. For an account of him, see vol. vi. of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, where there is a life of him, his engraved portrait and tomb. See also Mr. Shepherd's life of Poggio Bracciolini.

of France, wished to lead them into Spain, to don Henry de Trastamare, against don Pedro king of Spain.

Sir John Hawkwood and his companions remained in Italy, and were employed by pope Urbant as long as he lived in his wars in the Milanese. Pope Gregory, successor to Urban, engaged him in the same manner.

Sir John had also a profitable employment, under the lord de Coucy, against the count de Vertus and his baronis ; in which, some say, the lord de Coucy would have been slain, if sir John Hawkwood had not come to his assistance with five hundred combatants, which he was solely induced to do because the lord de Coucy had married one of the king of England's daughters. This sir John Hawkwood was a knight much inured to war, which he had long followed, and had gained great renown in Italy from his gallantry.

The Romans, therefore, and Urban, who called himself pope, resolved, on Clement leaving Italy, to send for Hawkwood, and appoint him commander in chief of all their forces : they made him large offers of retaining him and his whole troop at a handsome subsidy, which he accepted, and acquitted himself loyally for it.

In company with the Romans, he defeated a large body of Bretons under the command of Silvester Budes ; the greater part of whom were either slain or taken : Silvester Budes was carried prisoner to Rome, where he was in great danger of being beheaded. To say the truth, it would have
been

been more for his honour, and for that of his friends, had he been so the day he was brought there; for he and another squire of Brittany, called William Boileau, were afterwards beheaded in the city of Mascon by order of pope Clement. They were suspected of treachery, on account of having escaped from the prisons in Rome, no one knew how, and had come to Avignon, where they were arrested.

The cardinal of Amiens was the author of their arrest; for he hated them ever since the wars in Italy, when they had killed some of his baggage-horses, and seized a large quantity of money and gold and silver plate, which Silvester had distributed among his followers, by way of pay, being unable otherwise to satisfy them. The cardinal was much enraged at this conduct, and secretly charged them with treason. On their arrival at Avignon, they were seized, and accused of treacherously intending to betray the pope: they were then sent to Mascon, when both were instantly beheaded.

In this state were affairs in those distant countries. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was indignant against the pope and cardinals on account of the death of his cousin Silvester Budes; and, if he had lived a little longer, he would have shewn, or have caused it to have been shewn them, that it was very displeasing to him.

We will, for the present, leave these matters, and speak of the war in Flanders, which began about this time. The people were very murderous and cruel, and multitudes were slain or driven out of the

the country. The country itself was so much ruined that it was said a hundred years would not restore it to the situation it was in before the war.

CHAP. XX.

THE STATE OF FLANDERS BEFORE THE WAR.—

THE CAUSES OF THE DISPUTES BETWEEN THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE FLEMINGS.—

JOHN LYON INTRODUCES THE DISTINCTION OF WHITE HOODS.

BEFORE the commencement of these wars in Flanders, the country was so fertile, and every thing in such abundance, that it was marvellous to see; and the inhabitants of the principal towns lived in very grand state.

You must know, that this war originated in the pride and hatred that several of the chief towns bore to each other: those of Ghent against those of Bruges, and others in like manner, vying with each other through envy. However, this could not have created a war without the consent of their lord the earl of Flanders, who was so much loved and feared that no one dared to anger him.

The earl, being wise and prudent, carefully avoided encouraging a war between his vassals; for he foresaw, that if any difference should arise between him and them, he would be much weakened and less formidable to his neighbours. He carefully avoided war for another reason, considering it as destructive

destructive to all possessions, although at last he was forced to it : he had hitherto reigned in great prosperity and peace, and had as many pleasures and enjoyments as any earthly lord can have.

The wars which ensued were caused by so trifling an event, that if the earl had possessed any prudence, it ought not to have produced that effect ; and those who read this book, or who may have it read to them, will say, that it was the work of the devil. You know wise men think the devil, who is subtle and full of artifice, labours night and day to cause warfare wherever he finds peace and harmony, and seeks by distant means, and by degrees, how to accomplish his ends. And thus it fell out in Flanders, as you will clearly see and learn from the different treaties and ordinances which follow relative to these matters.

During the time that earl Lewis of Flanders was in his greatest prosperity, there was a citizen of Ghent called John Lyon : he was wise, subtle and bold, but cruel, enterprising and cool in business, and very much in favour with the earl, as it should seem ; for he employed him to assassinate, in a secret way, a man of Ghent, that was disagreeable to him, and who acted contrary to the wishes of the earl. John Lyon fought a quarrel with him, and killed him.

This man was greatly lamented by all ; and, for grief of what he had done, John Lyon went and resided at Douay, where he lived for three years, keeping a handsome state, for which the earl paid.

John Lyon, on account of this murder, was instantly

stantly deprived of every thing he had in the city of Ghent, and banished from it for four years.

The earl managed so as to make up the matter and recover for him the freedom he had lost of Ghent, which was a circumstance not before heard of, and several in Ghent and Flanders were much astonished at it, but so it happened. In addition to this, the earl, that he might enrich himself and live well, made him deacon of the pilots : this office might be worth to him a thousand francs a-year, doing honestly his duty. Thus was John Lyon so much in the good graces of the earl that no one was equal to him.

At this time, there was a family in Ghent called the Matthews : they were seven brothers, and the most considerable of all the pilots. Among these seven brothers was one named Gilbert Matthew, who was rich, wise, subtle, and more enterprizing than any of his family. This Gilbert bore in secret a great hatred to John Lyon, because he saw him so much in favour with the earl ; and he occupied his thoughts, day and night, how he could supplant him. He sometimes inclined to have him slain by his brothers, but gave it up for fear of the earl. He thought so much on this subject that at last he hit upon a plan to accomplish it : however, I will first tell you the real cause why they hated each other, that you may the more fully understand it.

There existed formerly, in the town of Deynse, a mortal hatred between two pilots and their families : one was called Peter Guillon, and the other

John Barbe. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers were connected by blood to one of these families, and John Lyon, by similar ties, to the other. This hatred was for a long time nourished in secret, though they sometimes spoke, and even eat and drank with each other ; and Gilbert made more of this connection than John Lyon did. Gilbert, without striking a blow, bethought himself of a cunning contrivance.

The earl of Flanders resided sometimes at Ghent : Gilbert, during these residences, got acquainted with one of the earl's chamberlains, who was attached to his person, and said to him, ' If my lord of Flanders pleased, he might gain, every year, a handsome revenue from the pilots, who now pay nothing : it might be levied on the foreign trade, provided John Lyon, who is deacon of the pilots, would acquit himself honestly.' The chamberlain said he would inform the earl of it, which he did. The earl (like other great lords, who naturally wish for gain, and who do not foresee the consequences, but only seek to get the money into their hands) told his chamberlain to bring Gilbert Matthew to him, and he would hear what he had to say.

Gilbert was introduced, and, in conversation, made use of such arguments as appeared reasonable to the earl, who replied, ' It is well : let it be so.'

John Lyon was immediately called into the apartment, in presence of Gilbert Matthew, quite ignorant of what had passed, when the earl opened the business to him, and added, ' John, if you choose, we may gain much wealth by this scheme.'

John

John was indeed loyal in his employment, but saw this was not a reasonable demand: being unwilling to speak to the contrary, he replied; 'My lord, what you have required, which it seems Gilbert has proposed, I cannot execute myself, for it will be too heavy upon the mariners.'

'John,' answered the earl, 'if you will exert yourself, the business will be done.'

'My lord,' replied John, 'I will then do every thing in my power.'

The conference broke up, when Gilbert Matthew (whose only aim was to ruin John Lyon in the mind of the earl, to deprive him of his office, so that, being turned out, it might profit him) went to his six brothers, and said to them; 'It is now time to assist me, which I hope you will do, like good friends and brothers, for it is your cause I am fighting. I will discomfit John Lyon without striking a blow, and so ruin him in the opinion of the earl that he shall be more disliked by the earl than he had before been liked. Now, notwithstanding all I may say or argue at the meeting to be holden, you must refuse to comply: I will dissemble, and argue that if John Lyon would faithfully acquit himself, this ordinance would be obeyed. I know so well our lord, that sooner than give up his point, John Lyon will lose his favour, as well as his office, which will be given to me; and, when I am in the possession of it, you will comply with the demand. We are very powerful with the mariners of this town, so that none of them will dare oppose us. I will afterwards so manage

that John Lyon shall be slain, and we have our revenge without appearing in the matter.'

All his brethren complied with this request. The meeting was held of the mariners, when John Lyon and Gilbert Matthew explained the will of the earl, who proposed, by a new statute, to lay a tax on the navigation of the Lys and the Scheld. It appeared very burdensome, and too great a stretch of power, particularly to the six brothers of Gilbert, who were more firm and unanimous in their opposition to it than all the rest. John Lyon, their deacon, was secretly rejoiced at this; for he was desirous of maintaining all their ancient rights and privileges, and flattered himself that the brothers were in his favour, while they were acting just the contrary.

John Lyon reported to the earl the answer of the mariners, adding, 'My lord, it is a thing which cannot be done: much evil may result from it: let things remain as they are, and do not attempt to introduce any novelties.' This answer was not very pleasing to the earl, for he perceived that if the impost were laid, and collected in the manner he had been told, he should have received every year from six to seven thousand florins of revenue: he therefore made no reply, but did not think less upon it, and had those mariners whom John Lyon found rebellious sued by actions and otherwise.

On the other hand, Gilbert Matthew came to the earl and his council, to say that John Lyon did not act well in this business; that, if he had his office, he would so manage the mariners that the earl of Flanders should have this revenue hereditarily.

The

The earl did not see clear, for this revenue, with his avarice, blinded him ; and, without asking for advice, he deprived John Lyon of his office, which he gave to Gilbert. When Gilbert thus saw himself deacon of the pilots, he turned his brothers according to his will, and gave the earl satisfaction in regard to this impost, for which he was not the more beloved by the majority of the mariners ; but they were forced to submit, for the seven brothers, assisted by the earl, were too many for them, and it behoved them to do so in silence.

Thus did Gilbert Matthew, by this wary method, carry his point, and obtain the favour of the earl of Flanders. Gilbert made very handsome presents to the officers and chamberlains of the earl ; by which means he blinded them, and gained their friendship. All these fine gifts were paid for by the mariners, which dissatisfied many, but they dared not complain.

John Lyon, by the above mentioned means and intrigues of Gilbert, entirely lost the good graces of the earl : he lived quietly on his fortune, suffering patiently whatever was done to him. Gilbert, being now deacon, and secretly hating John Lyon, took away from him a third or fourth of the profits which were his due from the navigation. John Lyon did not say one word, but, prudently dissembling, and with an apparently good will, took whatever they gave him ; for, he said, there were times when it was better to be silent than to talk.

Gilbert Matthew had a brother named Stephen, a cunning fellow, who had watched all the actions of

of John Lyon : he said to his brothers (for he prophesied to them all that was to happen); ‘ Certainly, gentlemen, John Lyon suffers at this moment, and keeps his head very low ; but he acts with good sense, and will contrive to throw us as low as we are now high. I will give you one piece of advice, which is, to kill him while we continue in the favour of my lord the earl : I can very easily do it, if you charge me with this business, by which we shall escape all danger, and can easily get acquitted for his death.’

His brothers refused to consent to this, saying he had not done them any wrong, and that no man ought to lose his life but by the sentence of a judge.

Things remained in this situation for some time, when the devil, who never sleeps, put it into the heads of the people of Bruges to make a canal from the river Lys : the earl agreed in their plans, and sent a number of pioneers, with a body of men at arms to guard them. They had in former times attempted to do this, but the citizens of Ghent had by force made them desist.

News was brought to Ghent, that the inhabitants of Bruges were now intending to carry by force their old scheme of making a canal to obtain the waters of the Lys, which would be very prejudicial to them ; so that great murmurs arose in Ghent, more particularly among the mariners, who were much affected by it. They said, that the people of Bruges should not thus make a canal to draw off the course of the river, as it would be the ruin of the town. Some others said, in an under-
hand

hand-manner, 'Now God save John Lyon ! had he been our deacon, such an attempt would not have been made, nor the people of Bruges have had the courage to have undertaken this business.'

John Lyon was duly informed of all these things: he began to awaken, saying, 'I have for some time slept; but it seems that this trifling affair in appearance has roused me, and shall create such troubles between this town and the earl as will cost a hundred thousand lives.'

Intelligence of these diggers was brought, with great additions, that much inflamed men's minds; for it chanced, that a woman on her return from a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne, being weary, seated herself in the market-place, where there were crowds of people. They asked her, where she came from: she said, 'From Boulogne; and I have seen in my road the greatest curse that can ever befall the town of Ghent: for there are upwards of five hundred diggers, who are labouring day and night to open a course for the Lys; and, if they be not immediately prevented, they will turn to their town the current of that river.'

This speech of the woman was heard, and repeated in different parts of the town. The townsmen rose, and said, such things were not to be suffered nor borne quietly. Many of them went to John Lyon to ask advice in the matter, and how they should act.

When John Lyon saw himself thus appealed to by those whose love and favour he wished to gain, he was much rejoiced, but took care not to shew any

any signs of it ; for it would not be a fit opportunity until the busines should be more fully ascertained : he therefore made them greatly entreat him before he would speak, or give any opinion on the subject. When he was prevailed on to speak, he said ; ‘ Gentlemen, if you wish to risk this busines, and put an end to it, you must renew an ancient custom that formerly subsisted in the town of Ghent : I mean, you must first put on white hoods, and choose a leader, to whom every one may look, and rally at his signal.

This harangue was eagerly listened to, and they all cried out, ‘ We will have it so, we will have it so ! now let us put on white hoods.’

White hoods were directly made, and given out to those among them who loved war better than peace, and had nothing to lose. John Lyon was elected chief of the white hoods.

He very willingly accepted of this office, to revenge himself on his enemies, to embroil the towns of Ghent and Bruges with each other, and with the earl their lord. He was ordered, as their chief, to march against the pioneers and diggers from Bruges, and had with him two hundred such people as preferred rioting to quiet.

When Gilbert Mathew and his brothers saw the numbers of these white hoods, they were not too well pleased : Stephen said to his brothers, ‘ Did not I well forewarn you, that this John Lyon would discomfit us ? It would have been better if I had been believed, and had been allowed to have killed him, than to have seen him in the situation he

he is in, or will be, through these white hoods which he has re-established.'

'No, no,' replied Gilbert, 'let me but speak with my lord, and they shall be put down. I am willing they should accomplish their enterprize against the pioneers from Bruges, for the good of our town ; for, in truth, it will be completely ruined, if they be suffered to proceed.'

John Lyon and his rout, when they had all their white hoods, marched from Ghent, with the intention of killing the diggers and those who guarded them. News was soon carried to the pioneers, that a large force from Ghent was coming against them : they were so much afraid of the consequences they left their work, and retired to Bruges ; and none were bold enough to return to their digging.

John and his white hoods, not seeing any one, returned to Ghent : but they did not remain quiet, for they went up and down the town, looking at and examining every thing. John Lyon kept them in this state, and told some of them in private to make themselves comfortable, to eat and drink, and not to mind expense ; for those should pay their score at a future time who would not now give them a farthing.

CHAP. XXI.

BY THE EXHORTATIONS OF JOHN LYON, THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT SEND SOME OF THEIR PRINCIPAL CITIZENS TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS, TO DEMAND THE PRESERVATION OF THEIR LIBERTIES AND FRANCHISES.—THE EARL REQUESTS THESE CITIZENS TO ABOLISH THE WHITE HOODS.

DURING the time of these white hoods, and in the same week that they had marched, under the conduct of John Lyon, to Deynse, in search of the pioneers from Bruges, another cause of distrust originated at Ghent, by some who were alarmed for its franchises: they complained to those who, by the constitution, were their magistrates, that at Erclo* (a dependance on Ghent) one of their burghesses was confined in the prisons of the earl, and that they had summoned the bailiff of the earl to surrender him up, but he had refused, which was directly contrary to their privileges, and thus by little and little they were encroached upon. In former times, they were held so high and of such consequence, and were then so well defended, that the noblest knight of Flanders thought himself honoured by being a burgher of Ghent.

The magistrates replied, ‘ We will cheerfully

* Probably Eccloo.

write to the bailiff of Ghent on the part of the burgeses whom he detains in prison, for him to send him to us ; for, in truth, the powers of his office do not extend so far as to confine one of our burgeses in the prisons of the earl.'

They acted accordingly, and wrote to the bailiff for the burgeses who was prisoner at Erclo. The bailiff, Roger d'Auterme, was advised to send the following answer : ' Ha, what a noise is this about a mariner ? Were my prisoner ten times as rich as the one I have, I would never let him out of my prison without orders from the earl. I have powers to arrest, but none to set free.'

This speech was carried back, which gave much displeasure : they said, he had proudly answered.

By such replies, and such unlucky accidents as the pioneers from Bruges wanting to dig on the lands of Ghent, and the encroachments on the privileges of Ghent, were that cursed crew called White Hoods introduced, and they became by degrees more feared and renowned. It behoveth such a set to have among them madmen and firebrands, to work upon the more peaceable.

This story of the burgeses of Ghent being detained in the earl's prison at Erclo, and of the bailiff having refused to give him his liberty, was soon spread through the town of Ghent. Many began to murmur, and to say it ought not to be suffered ; and that, from being too quiet about it, all the franchises of Ghent, which were so noble, would be lost.

John Lyon, who only aimed at the embroiling the

the town of Ghent in such a manner with its lord that it would be impossible to settle it without loss, was not sorry when he heard these words, and wished they had been still stronger : he continued to spread secret rumours in different parts of the town, ‘ that never could the jurisdictions or privileges of any town be properly maintained when once offices are put to sale.’ He intended this in allusion to Gilbert Matthew, meaning to say that he had bought the deaconship : he had also added a new debt to the navigation, which was greatly against the franchises of Ghent and their ancient privileges.

The earl now received, every year, three or four thousand francs, besides what he had from ancient custom, which caused many complaints from merchants as well as from the mariners ; insomuch that those of Valenciennes, Douay, Lille, Bethune, and Tournay, began to think of giving up their commerce with Ghent, by which greater ruin would be brought upon the town, and very soon their franchises would be so neglected as to be worth nothing, if no one stood forward in the support of them.

Gilbert Matthew and the deacon of the small craft, who was his relation, had such speeches daily rung in their ears : they knew they came from John Lyon, but they dared not attempt to remedy it ; for John had posted white hoods in various parts of the town, and had enlisted among them the boldest and most outrageous, so that they were afraid to attack them : besides, John Lyon never went

went abroad alone, for when he quitted his house he was surrounded by two or three hundred white hoods, and never went down the town but in cases of absolute necessity. He always made himself be much entreated before he would give any advice on events which happened, at home or abroad, against the privileges of the town.

Whenever he did give advice or harangue the people, he spoke so well, and with so much art, that his auditors were highly pleased with his language : they commonly were unanimous in believing all he spoke as truth.

John Lyon, with much art, thus harangued : ' I do not say that we should any way weaken or diminish the inheritance of my lord of Flanders ; for, if we wished it, we are not able to do it : reason and justice forbid it. I am, therefore, of opinion, that we should be cautious how by any event we may incur his displeasure ; for every subject ought to be on good terms with his lord. The earl of Flanders is our good lord, much feared and renowned : he has always maintained us in full peace and prosperity, which we should ever acknowledge, and endure the more (as we are bounden to do) than if he had harastied us, and made it difficult for us to keep our own. True it is, that at this present moment, he is wickedly advised against us and the franchises of the good town of Ghent : that we of Ghent are no more in his good graces is apparent by the diggers (he residing in Bruges), who came to break in on our inheritance, and carry away our river, by which measure

measure our good town would have been quite ruined. In addition to this, he intends to build a castle at Deynse in opposition to us and to harass us; and we know that the people of Bruges have promised him, for some time past, that they would pay him from ten to twelve thousand francs a-year, if they could have the advantage of the river Lys. I would therefore advise, that the good town of Ghent should send to him some learned men, well informed of our affairs, who would remonstrate wisely and boldly with him on all these matters, and also respecting the burghers who is in prison at Ercle, whom his bailiff will not give up, at which the town is not pleased, as well as on other affairs respecting our town. After having remonstrated with him on these things, let them inform him, that neither himself nor advisers must imagine that we are so disheartened, that, if there should be occasion, we are not able and determined to resist; and that, after the town shall have had his answers, the good men of Ghent will take proper measures to punish those who shall act with hostility towards them.'

When John Lyon had concluded this oration in the square of the market-place, each man said, 'He has well spoken; he has well spoken;' and then they all retired to their own homes.

Gilbert Matthew was not present at this harangue of John Lyon; for he already was afraid of the white hoods; but his brother, Stephen, had been there, who was ever foretelling what was to happen: he said on his return, 'I have told you truly,

truly, and I have always so said, that, by God, John Lyon will be the ruin of us all. Cursed be the hour when you would not consent to my proposal; for, had you suffered me to have killed him, I could then have easily done it; but now he is out of our reach, and we dare not attempt even to hurt him, for he has more power in this town than the earl himself.'

Gilbert, replying, said; ' Hold thy tongue, fool: whenever I please, with the assistance of my lord, I can put down these white hoods; and some of them who now wear them will not, in a short time, have heads to put them on.'

Several of the most discreet men of the town were ordered to wait on the earl as ambassadors; and I believe that Matthew Gilbert, the deacon of the pilots, was one of those chosen to go thither. John Lyon was the cause of this, because, if they should bring back any harsh answer, he would share the disgrace of it.

They departed, and found the earl at Male*, and managed the business so well that at last the earl assented to all their demands, as well in regard to the prisoner detained at Erclo, as in his intentions to preserve inviolate all their franchises, and also in forbidding the people of Bruges ever again to dig on the territories belonging to Ghent. All this he promised; and, the more to please the ci-

* It would seem from Bleau's grand atlas, that the domain and park of Male had been drowned by the sea since this time. The earl of Flanders was born there, and thence called Louis de Male.

tizens of Ghent, he engaged to command the canal which the men of Bruges had dug to be completely filled up again. They quitted the earl very amicably, and returned to Ghent ; when they related all that had passed with their lord, and how willing he was to maintain all their franchises ; but he requested, as a proof of their friendship, that the white hoods should be laid aside. As these words were speaking, the officers of the earl brought in their prisoner from Erclo, and surrendered him up, by way of re-establishing peace, according to the orders they had received, which caused great joy in the town of Ghent.

John Lyon, the chief of the white hoods, was present when the above answer was received, attended by ten or twelve of the principal of his rout. When they heard the earl's request for the white hoods to be laid aside, they were silent ; but John Lyon addressed the meeting, and said, ' My good people, you know and see clearly at present the value of these white hoods : have they not preserved for you, and do they not guard better your franchises, than those of red and black, or hoods of any other colour ? Many are they who are afraid of them ; but be assured, and remember I tell you so, that as soon as the white hoods shall be laid aside, according to the ordinance which my lord wishes to have issued against them, I will not give three farthings for all your privileges.' This speech so deceived the people that they separated, and the greater part returned to their homes, saying, ' Let him manage the business ; for he speaks truth,

truth, and we have never seen any thing in him but what was for the advantage and honour of the town.'

Things remained in this state, and John Lyon in greater danger of his life than before: upon which he formed a plan, which he afterwards executed; for he clearly saw that Gilbert Matthew had, in this embassy to the earl, instigated some mischief against him and his companions, notwithstanding the friendly answers which the earl had sent. He therefore resolved to counter-work his enemies, and gave secret orders to the leaders of the white hoods, and to those who commanded the companies of hundreds and of fifties, to keep their men day and night on their guard well armed, and, on the first appearance of any movement, to march to him; for it would be better to kill than to be killed, since affairs were brought to such a pass.

These orders were punctually observed, and they were exact in keeping themselves in readiness.

CHAP. XXII.

THE WHITE HOODS MURDER THE BAILIFF OF
GHENT IN THE MIDST OF THE MARKET.—
THE HOUSES AND GOODS OF THE FAMILY OF
THE MATTHEWS ARE DESTROYED.—A GRAND
CONFUSION IN GHENT.

NOT long afterwards, the bailiff of Ghent, Roger d'Auterme, came to town with full two hundred horse, in order to execute what had been planned between the earl, Gilbert Matthew and his brothers.

The bailiff, with his two hundred men, galloped up the streets, with the banner of the earl in his hand, unto the market-place, where he halted, and posted his banner before him. Gilbert Matthew, his brothers, and the deacon of the small craft, immediately went thither. It had been determined that these men at arms should march instantly to the house of John Lyon, and arrest him as chief of the white hoods, with six or seven others, the most culpable, carry them to the castle of Ghent, and immediately cut their heads off.

John Lyon suspected some such thing ; for he had received secret intelligence from his spies, scattered over different parts of the town. He knew of the arrival of the bailiff, and saw it was a thing determined upon. The other white hoods
were

were informed that this day had been fixed on to arrest them, and were therefore ready prepared and assembled near the house of John Lyon, who was waiting for them: they came in bands of ten and twenty, and, as they marched up, they formed in the street: when they were all assembled, they were full four hundred. John Lyon marched off as fierce as a lion, saying, ‘ Let us advance against these traitors, who wish to ruin the town of Ghent. I thought all those fine speeches which Gilbert Matthew brought back the other day were only meant for our destruction, and to lull us asleep; but we will make him pay dearly for them.’

He and his rout advanced hastily: they increased very much by the way; for there were those who joined him that had not as yet put on the white hoods, who cried out, ‘ Treason, treason! ’

They marched, by a roundabout way and a narrow street, to the corn market, where the bailiff, who represented the earl, had posted himself.

Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, the moment they saw John Lyon and the white hoods enter the market-place, left the bailiff, and ran away as fast as they could; and neither order nor array was observed, except by the men at arms whom the bailiff had brought thither.

Immediately on the arrival of John Lyon in the market-place, with the white hoods, a large body of them advanced towards the bailiff; and, without saying a word, he was seized, thrown on the ground and slain. The banner of the earl was then dragged through the dirt, and torn to pieces;

but not one man, except the bailiff, was touched. They then collected round John Lyon.

When the earl's men at arms saw the bailiff dead, and their banner torn to pieces, they were thunderstruck, and, like men defeated, took to flight, and left the town.

You may easily imagine that Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who were known to be the enemies of John Lyon and the white hoods, did not think themselves very safe in their houses : they therefore set out as speedily as they could, and quitted the town through bye streets, leaving their wives, children and goods behind them. They made what haste they could to the earl of Flanders, to whom they related all that had happened, and the death of his bailiff.

The earl was sorely afflicted at this intelligence, as well he might, for they had treated him with great contempt : he was much enraged, and swore that he would have ample revenge before he ever returned to Ghent, and before they should have peace from him, so that all other towns should take an example from it. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers remained with the earl.

John Lyon and the white hoods persevered in their outrages : after the death of the bailiff, and the flight of the men at arms, as no one offered to revenge this murder, John, who wished to ruin the Mathews (for he bore them deadly hatred), said, 'Come, let us go after those wicked traitors who this day intended to have destroyed the town of Ghent.' They hastened down the streets to the residence

residence of the Matthews, but found none, for they had all gone off. They were sought for in every room throughout the houses of the adjoining streets ; and, when they were convinced they were gone, John Lyon was much vexed. He gave up to his companions all their goods, when the houses were completely pillaged and razed to the ground, so that no vestige remained, as if they had been traitors to the whole body of the town.

When they had done this deed, they retired to their homes ; nor was there a sheriff, or any other officer belonging to the earl or to the town, who said they had acted wrong : indeed, at that time all were afraid to say a word against them : for the white hoods were so numerous that none dared to provoke them, and they paraded the streets in large bodies without any opposition. It was said both within and without the town, that they were connected with some of the sheriffs and rich men in Ghent, which was not unlikely ; for such a ruffianly crew would never have dared to slay so noble a man as Roger d'Auterme, bailiff of Ghent, holding the banner of the earl in his hand at the time, if they had not depended on some good and able supporters in their wicked acts. They afterwards increased so much as to want no foreign aid, and became so powerful that none were bold enough to oppose any thing they thought proper to undertake.

Roger d'Auterme was carried away by the Friar Minors to their church, where he was by them buried.

After

After this event, several of the wisest and richest citizens in Ghent began to murmur, and were much vexed: they said among themselves, that a great outrage had been committed when the earl's bailiff had thus been murdered in the execution of his office; and that their lord would be justly offended, and never grant them peace: that these wicked people had put the town to the hazard of being totally destroyed, if God did not speedily afford a remedy.

Notwithstanding all these words, there was not one among them who had courage personally to correct or reprove the authors of these atrocities.

John de Faucille, who at that time was a man much renowned for his wisdom in Ghent, on finding things carried to such lengths as the murdering of the earl's bailiff, thought it must end badly; that he might not be suspected by the earl, he left the town privately, and went to a handsome country-house which he had near Ghent, and there remained, having given orders to tell every one he was very unwell and melancholy, and could see none but his own people. Every day, however, he had news from Ghent; for he had left there the greater part of his family, his wife, his children and his friends; and thus he dissembled for a considerable time,

CHAP. XXIII.

TWELVE CITIZENS OF GHENT ARE DEPUTED TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—THE WHITE HOODS PILLAGE AND BURN THE CASTLE OF ANDRE-GHIEN*, OF WHICH THE EARL WAS VERY FOND.

THE good people of Ghent, who were rich and industrious, and had wives, families and fortunes in the town and neighbourhood, wishing as they did to live in an honourable way, were not well pleased to see things in this situation, and were very sensible how ill they had acted towards their lord: they therefore consulted among themselves how they could best remedy this ill deed, and throw themselves on his mercy, for it was better to do so soon than late. They called a council, in which it was debated what most profitable means they could use to save their own honours, and to promote the advantage of the town. John Lyon and the other leaders of the white hoods were invited to this council; otherwise they would not have dared to have holden it.

Many proposals were made, and long debates ensued; but at last they determined unanimously to elect twelve of the most respectable of the inhabitants, who should solicit mercy and pardon for

* Q. if not Adeghem, which is near Eccloo.

the murder of the bailiff : and if by this they could obtain peace, it would be a good thing ; but every person must be included in this peace, and nothing moved in the business hereafter.

This resolution was acted upon, and twelve citizens elected to wait on the earl. John Lyon kept always saying, that it was right to be on good terms with their lord ; but his wishes were just the contrary, for he thought and said internally, ‘ Things are not yet in the situation I wish to put them in.’

The determination of the council soon became public : the twelve deputies set off, and journeyed on until they came to Male, where they found the earl, who on their approach was wondrous angry, and in a cruel passion against the inhabitants of Ghent. The twelve deputies acted well their parts by appearing contrite, and, with uplifted hands, entreated him to have pity on them. They pleaded their excuse for the death of his bailiff, adding ; ‘ Dear lord, have mercy on us, so that we may carry peace back to the town of Ghent, which loves you so much ; and we engage, that for the time to come, this outrage shall be amply atoned for by those who have done it or excited it, so that you shall be satisfied, and that all large towns shall take example from it.’

They so long and affectionately solicited the earl that he restrained his anger ; and, by other good arguments which they urged, the affair was arranged and articles of peace drawn up. The earl was on the point of pardoning all the outrages committed against him by those of Ghent, on their making

making the reparation agreed on, when other intelligence arrived that I will now relate.

John Lyon, who had remained at Ghent, thought directly the reverse of what he had said in the council, that it was proper to be on good terms with their lord. He knew for a certainty he had already so much irritated the earl, that he would never forgive him, and if his pardon were promised, it would be through dissimulation, which would end in his being put to death. He therefore chose rather to throw aside all shame, since he had entered so far in the business, than to continue daily in the fear of his life ; and thus he acted. During the time the deputation was gone to the earl to solicit peace, he collected all the white hoods under his command, and the different handicrafts in the town the most inclined to his way of thinking, and gained his end by great artifice ; for, when they were assembled, he said to them ;

‘ Gentlemen, you well know how much we have angered my lord of Flanders, and upon what grounds we have sent a deputation to him. We do not know what answer they will bring back ; whether peace or war ; for he is not of a temper easily appeased, and he has near his person Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who will not fail to excite his anger. It is, therefore, a hundred to one that we have peace. It behoves us, if we should have war, to look to ourselves, and see from whom we may get assistance, and by whom we may be supported. You, deacons of the different trades,

do

do you draw out into the fields to-morrow your men ; and we will see what appearance they make ; for it is proper we take measures against a surprise. This will not cost us any thing, and will make us more feared.'

They all answered, that he had well spoken. This measure was followed ; and, on the morrow, they marched out of the gate leading to Bruges, and drew up in a handsome plain without Ghent, called Andreghien. When they were all arrived, John Lyon looked at them with great pleasure ; for they were full ten thousand, well armed ; and said, 'Here is indeed a handsome company.' When he had examined them for a short space, and had been all round them, he added : 'I would propose that we visit my lord's house, since we are so near to it. I have been told that he has laid therein many stores and provisions, which may be of great prejudice to the town of Ghent.'

This was agreed to ; and they marched to Andreghien, which at the time was without guards or defence. They entered the house, and began to search it every where. The white hoods and their ribald crew which had entered, very soon despoiled it, taking away whatever they could lay their hands on. There were many rich jewels and clothes, for the earl kept there his wardrobe. John Lyon affected to be in a violent passion at this conduct, but was not so in reality, as it afterwards appeared ; for, after they had left the castle and marched into the plain, on looking behind them, they

they saw the mansion in flames in twenty different places ; and, if they had entertained the inclination, it was not in their power to extinguish it.

John Lyon, who pretended to be much surprised, cried out, ‘ How has this fire happened in my lord’s house ? ’ They answered, ‘ By accident.’

‘ Well,’ replied he, ‘ it cannot now be helped ; and it is still better that accident should have burnt it, than that we should. Every thing considered, it was but a dangerous neighbour ; and my lord might have established a garrison therein, which would have annoyed us much.’ They all answered, ‘ What you say is true.’

They then returned to Ghent, and did nothing more that day ; but what they had done was mischief enough, for it cost afterwards two hundred thousand lives, and was one of the principal causes which enraged the earl of Flanders the most. John Lyon had done it, because he wished not for peace : he well knew, that whatever treaty was entered into, it would be sealed with his blood.

This castle of Andreghien had cost the earl of Flanders, in building and ornamenting, two hundred thousand francs ; and he loved it in preference to all his other residences. The well-intentioned inhabitants of Ghent, who were desirous of peace, were exceedingly hurt at this business ; but help it they could not, nor did they dare to shew any symptoms of anger, for the white hoods said the castle had been burnt accidentally.

News of this was brought to the earl at Male : those who came said ; ‘ My lord, you do not know that

that your beautiful house of Andreghien, which has cost you such sums to build, and of which you are so fond, is burnt to the ground.' 'Burnt?' replied the earl, who was much enraged at this intelligence. 'Yes; help me, God, if it be not true.' 'And by what means?' 'By an accidental fire, as they say.' 'Ha, ha,' answered the earl, 'now it is all over: there shall never be peace in Flanders as long as John Lyon lives: he has had this house burnt in an underhånd manner, but he shall dearly pay for it.' He then ordered the deputation from Ghent to come to him, and said; 'Ah wretches! you supplicate my favour with sword in hand. I had acceded to every proposal you had made, according to your wish; and your people have set fire to and burnt the house I loved in preference to all my others. Do you think there had not been sufficient contempt shewn me when they murdered my bailiff, while he was executing my orders, tore my banner, and trod it under foot? Know, that if my own honour were not concerned, and if you had not already obtained passports from me, I would now have you all beheaded. Quit my presence, and tell those wicked and outrageous men of Ghent, that they shall never have peace, nor will I listen to any negotiation, until I shall have given up to me all those whom I shall point out, and whom I will have beheaded without mercy.'

These citizens were exceedingly hurt at the news they heard, and, like people who were perfectly innocent, endeavoured to excuse themselves; but in vain, for the earl was so much enraged he would

would not hear them : he made them leave his presence, when they mounted their horses and returned to Ghent, and there related what they had done, and how well they had managed the business ; that they had succeeded in obtaining an amicable settlement with the earl, when the unfortunate event of the castle being burnt came to his ears. After this, the earl threatened them greatly, and declared he would never consent to any peace until such of the townsmen as he should choose were given up to him.

The well-meaning inhabitants saw things were taking a bad turn, and that the white hoods had ruined all ; but there were none bold enough to speak out.

The earl of Flanders set off with his attendants from Male, and came to his hôtel at Lille, whither he summoned all the knights of Flanders, and every gentleman dependant on him, to have their advice how he should act on this occasion, and by what means he should revenge himself on the inhabitants of Ghent for the contempt they had shewn. All the gentlemen of Flanders swore to be true and loyal to him, as every one ought to be towards their lord. The earl was much pleased at this, and sent reinforcements to the garrisons in all his castles at Dendremonde, Ruffelmonde, Aloft, at Courtray and Audenarde.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE DEATH OF JOHN LYON.—THE MEN OF GHENT
CHOOSE CAPTAINS TO COMMAND THEM.—SEVERAL
TOWNS IN FLANDERS ALLY THEMSELVES
WITH GHENT.

JOHN Lyon was rejoiced when he found the earl of Flanders in earnest, and so much enraged against Ghent that he would not grant them peace ; and that, by his manœuvres, he had pushed matters so forward that the town would be obliged to make war whether it would or not. He said publicly ; ‘ You hear, gentlemen, how our lord, the earl of Flanders, is making preparations against you, and will not listen to any terms of peace : I therefore would advise, for greater security, that before we shall be more oppressed, we know what towns of Flanders will give us their support. I will answer for those of Gramont not being against us, but on the contrary they will assist us, as well as those of Courtray, which is in our castlewicks, and within our jurisdiction. But as for those of Bruges, they are proud and haughty, and it has been by their means all this mischief has been fomented : it therefore becomes us to march against them, in such force, that through fair or foul means, they unite themselves with us.’ All present answered, that his advice was good.

In course of time, every one that was to go on
this

this expedition made himself ready. When they were all duly prepared, in a manner becoming them, they marched from Ghent, in number from nine to ten thousand men, carrying with them a large train of stores and provision. The first day, they halted at Deynse : on the morrow, they advanced within a short league of Bruges, when they drew up in order of battle, in the plain, with their baggage in the rear. John Lyon ordered the deacons of the trades to go into Bruges, and know their intentions. They advanced thither, but found the gates shut and well guarded. When they therefore informed them what their business was, the guards said, they would cheerfully go and tell it to the burgomasters and sheriffs, who had posted them there. They did so ; and the burgomasters and jurats told them to return and say, that they would call a council to consider of it. When they came back with this answer, John Lyon cried out ; ' Advance, advance ! let us attack Bruges ; for, if we wait until they shall have held their council, we shall find great difficulty to gain an entrance : it is better we attack them before they consult together, and the suddenness of our attack will surprise them.'

This plan was followed ; and the men of Ghent advanced to the barriers and ditches of Bruges, John Lyon marching at their head on a black horse. He quickly dismounted, and took an axe in his hand.

When the guard, who were not in sufficient strength, saw the men of Ghent were so determined to attack them, they were frightened, and ran away down

down the streets as far as the market-place, crying out, ‘Here are the men of Ghent! Quickly to your posts; for they are before your walls, and at your gates.’

Those of Bruges who were assembling for the council were thunderstruck, and had not time to assemble nor to give any orders upon the occasion, whilst the majority of the people were desirous that the gates should immediately be thrown open. It behoved them to agree in this with the commonalty; otherwise it would have turned out badly for the rich inhabitants. The burgomaster, sheriffs, with many of the townsmen, came to the gate where the men of Ghent were with a good inclination to attack it.

The burgomaster and magistrates of Bruges, who for that day had the government of the town, advanced to open the wicket to parley with John Lyon. By treaty, they opened the barriers and gate, at which they held their conference, and were good friends. All now entered the town. John Lyon rode by the side of the burgomaster, and shewed himself a bold and valiant man: his men marched in his rear in bright armour. It was a handsome sight to see them thus enter Bruges until they came to the market-place, where, as they arrived, they formed themselves in array in the square. John Lyon held a white truncheon in his hand.

A formal alliance was then entered into between the townsmen of Ghent and Bruges, which they mutually swore to keep, and to remain for ever as good friends and neighbours: those of Ghent were allowed

allowed to summon them, and to lead them with them wherever they pleased.

Soon after they had been thus drawn up in the market-place, John Lyon and some of his captains went to the hall, whence they issued a proclamation for all the men of Ghent to retire peaceably to their quarters, and there to disarm themselves without noise, or any tumult, under pain of death, which was quickly obeyed. They were also forbidden to dislodge any one, or to engage in any quarrels, or to take any thing from their hosts without instantly paying for it, under the same penalty.

This proclamation being issued, another was published on the part of the town, for each householder to receive as friends the good men of Ghent, and to afford them all sorts of provision at the market prices; and that no undue advantages should be taken, nor any quarrels nor contentions stirred up, under pain of death.

All persons retired now to their houses or quarters; and the inhabitants of the two towns thus remained amicably together for two days, and strengthened their alliance and friendship mutually. Their treaties being drawn out and sealed, on the third day the men of Ghent departed, and marched to the town of Daimme, which instantly opened its gates, and received them most courteously: they remained there two days. John Lyon, during his short stay, was seized with a sudden sickness that swelled his body exceedingly: the night he was taken ill, he had supped in great revelry with the

ladies of the town ; for which reason, several said and maintained that he had been poisoned. Of this I know nothing, therefore shall not insist on it ; but I do know that on the morrow he was placed on a litter, for he was taken ill in the night, and carried to Ardenbourg ; but death prevented him going further, to the great sorrow of the men of Ghent, who were thrown into confusion by the event. All his enemies were as much rejoiced thereat as his friends were cast down.

His body was conveyed to Ghent ; and, on account of his death, the whole army returned thither. When the news of his decease was known in that town, it caused much sorrow ; for he was greatly beloved by all, excepting the party of the earl. The clergy went out to meet the body, and conducted it into town with as much solemnity as if he had been earl of Flanders. He was interred in the church of St. Nicholas, where his obsequies were performed, and where he lies.

Notwithstanding the death of John Lyon, the alliance between Ghent and Bruges was not broken ; for they had carried sufficient hostages with them to Ghent, for the due performance of all its articles.

The earl was exceedingly rejoiced at the death of John Lyon ; as were Gilbert Matthew, his brothers, the deacon of the small craft, and all the party of the earl, who sent greater reinforcements than before to all his towns and castles, and ordered a sufficient number of good knights and squires of the castlewicks of Lille and Douay into the

the town of Ypres, declaring he would make Ghent repent of its conduct.

Soon after the death of John Lyon, those of Ghent considered they could not long remain without leaders. The deacons of the trades and the guards of the gates selected, according to their opinion, four of the most courageous and enterprising for their commanders, whose names were, John Pruniaux, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle and Peter du Bois. They swore to pay these commanders the most exact obedience, under pain of death ; and these four swore also to preserve and defend the honour and franchises of the town of Ghent.

The four commanders excited those of Ghent to march against Ypres and the franc de Bruges, in order to obtain their union or to put them to death. They therefore set off from Ghent, in grand array, to the amount of at least twelve thousand, all clad in bright armour. They took the road to Courtray. The inhabitants of Courtray allowed them to enter their town without fear, for they were within the jurisdiction of Ghent : they there refreshed themselves at their ease for two days. On the third day, they marched towards Ypres, carrying with them two hundred well armed men from among the cross-bows of Courtray. They followed the road to Thorout, where on their arrival they halted ; and the commanders held a council, in which they resolved to send three or four thousand of their men, under the command of the captain of the white hoods, to treat with the inhabitants of Ypres,

and the main body to follow to reinforce them, if there should be occasion. These orders were executed, and they came before Ypres.

The commonalty of Ypres and the small handicrafts, hearing of the arrival of the army from Ghent, instantly armed themselves, and drew up in the market-place, to the amount of full five thousand. The rich inhabitants had not any power in the town. The knights placed there in garrison by the earl advanced, in handsome order, to the gate leading to Thorout, where the Ghent men had halted withoutside the barriers, requesting they would allow them to enter.

The knights and their men were drawn up before the gate, and shewed such an appearance that the men of Ghent could never have gained admittance but by force. However, the ancient trades of the town were resolved they should enter, in spite of the knights: they left, therefore, the market-place, and came to the gate which the knights were guarding, and said; 'Open the gate to our good friends and neighbours from Ghent: we will have them enter our town.' The knights replied, 'they would do no such thing; for they had been ordered thither by the earl of Flanders to defend the town, which they would do to the utmost of their power; and it was not possible for the force of those of Ghent to enter otherwise than by treason.'

Words multiplied so fast between the gentlemen and the deacons of small handicrafts, that the last shouted out, 'Kill them, kill them! they shall not be

be masters of our town.' They were immediately attacked, and, after a long contest, were roughly driven down the streets, as numbers were against them; and five knights were slain, among whom were sir Robert and sir Thomas de la Hourdrie, which was a great pity. Sir Henry d'Antoing was in imminent danger of his life, and with great difficulty could some of the principal inhabitants save him: at last, they did succeed in it, and many of the others were saved also. The gate was opened, so that the men of Ghent entered the town, and became the masters of it, without doing any damage. When they had remained there for two days, and had taken hostages from the inhabitants, who entered into a similar treaty with those of Bruges, Courtray, Gramont and Dammé, they set out from Ypres in a most courteous manner, and returned to Ghent.

CHAP. XXV.

THE MEN OF GHENT BESIEGE THE TOWN OF OUDE-NARDE ON ALL SIDES.—THEY MAKE A GRAND ASSAULT ON THE EARL OF FLANDERS IN DENDERMONDE.

THE earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, heard how the inhabitants of Ypres had turned against him, and what the small handicrafts had done: he was sorely vexed, as well for the loss of those knights who had there been slain as for other causes.

causes. He, however, comforted himself by saying, ‘Well, if we have this time lost Ypres, we shall another time regain it to their curse; for I will strike off such numbers of heads, all others shall be astonished at it.’

The earl intended particularly to provide the town of Oudenarde most amply with all sorts of stores, provision and men at arms; for he thought that the men of Ghent would soon come to besiege it; and, if they succeeded, the loss would be great to him, for they would then have the whole navigation of the fine river Scheld at their command.

He sent thither numbers of knights and squires from Flanders, Hainault and Artois, who assembled their people in the town whether the inhabitants would or not.

The commanders in Ghent were informed what great preparations the earl had made in Oudenarde: they determined to attack it, declaring they would not return until they had gained it, had slain all within, and razed the walls to the ground.

Orders were given in Ghent for every one to provide himself in a manner becoming his rank, and to be ready to march whithersoever he might be led. None dared to disobey this order: tents and pavilions were packed up, with all other stores: having marched out of Ghent, they encamped before Oudenarde, in the beautiful meadows on the banks of the Scheld.

Three days after, the men from Bruges arrived, for they had been summoned, and took up their quarters on the side near to their town, bringing with

with them great quantities of baggage and provision. Next came those from Ypres in great array: then the men of Poperingue, Messines and Gramont. The Flemings thus drawn up before Oudenarde were upwards of one hundred thousand: they made bridges of boats and hurdles by which they crossed over the Scheld to each other.

The earl, who refided at Lille, thinking they would attack Dendremonde first, had sent to Germany, Gueldres and Brabant, to ask the succour of a number of knights. The duke of Mons, his cousin, had come to serve him with a large body of knights, and had entered Dendremonde, where they met the earl of Flanders, who was already arrived there by his frontiers of Hainault and Brabant, and was truly glad of their company.

The Flemings maintained the siege of Oudenarde for a long time; during which, there were daily many grand attacks and skirmishes, and several gallant deeds of arms, both before the town and at the barriers, where numbers were killed and wounded; for the Flemings acted madly and foolishly in hazarding their persons in these skirmishes, often to their great loss.

There were full eight hundred lances, knights and squires, in the town of Oudenarde, all valiant men; among whom were several barons, such as the lords de Guistelle, de Villiers, de Hullut and de Cornais, Flemings: from Hainault were, the lords d'Anghien, d'Antoing, de Bosnel, de Taux, de Gommegines and his three brothers, sir John, sir Daniel and sir Joseph, the lords de Stainbbourg, de

de Carue, sir Gerard de Marqueillies, the lord de Cohen, sir Rasse de Montigny, sir Henry de la Hamede, sir John de Gres and other knights, amounting to about one hundred and five in number. They kept up a regular and numerous guard ; for they had not any confidence in the inhabitants, and they made the women and children retire into the monasteries. The citizens and townsmen kept within their houses ; and, in order to prevent the bad effects of the cannon and the perpetual fire which the Flemings kept up against the town, they had the houses covered with earth, to hinder them from taking fire.

During the siege of Oudenarde, the commanders of the Flemings were informed that the earl was at Dendremonde, and had with him his cousin the duke de Mons and numbers of other knights. They determined to send six thousand of their army thither, to examine its appearance, and to make an assault upon it.

This resolution was executed. The detachment which had been ordered, under the command of Rasse de Harzelle, continued their march until they came to a small village on the river Teure, a short league from Dendremonde, where they took up their quarters. These Flemings had provided themselves with a number of boats, which they had had sent down the river, that they might embark on board of them, and attack the place by land and water. A little after midnight, they arose, armed themselves, and made every preparation to begin the attack the instant they should be arrived there; for

for they wished to surprise the knights in their beds. They began their march ; but some of the country people, who had heard of this intention of the Flemings, informed the guards of it, saying, ‘ Be sure you keep a strict and good guard ; for a large body of the men of Ghent, who have been benighted, are lying hard by here, and we know what they intend to do.’

The guard at the gate related this to their captain, who was a knight from Holland, called sir Thierry de Bredoro : on receiving which intelligence, he strengthened his guard, and sent information of it to all the knights lodged in the castle and in the different houses.

Immediately on the break of day, the Flemings advanced by land and in their boats, well prepared for an instant attack. When those in the castle and town saw them approach, they sounded their trumpets to alarm every one, the greater part of the knights and squires being already armed.

The earl of Flanders, who slept in the castle, heard of the march of the Flemings, and that they had commenced the attack ; on which he instantly rose, armed himself, and sallied forth from the castle, his banner displayed before him. At this time, there were in the town, sir Goffuin de Wrle great bailiff of Flanders, the lord de Gau, sir Gerard de Rasenghien, sir Philip de Mamines, sir Philip de Rungi, a Burgundian, and others. All these knights advanced to meet the banner of the earl, and then they marched under it to the assault, which was already begun in a severe and horrible manner ;

manner ; for these Flemings had brought in their boats cannons and crofs-bows, which shot such large and heavy bolts that when any one was struck by them there was no escape from death. Against these bolts they were strongly shielded ; and the earl had with him some excellent crofs-bows, who by their shooting gave the Flemings enough to do.

The duke de Mons was in another part with his troops drawn up, his banner before him ; and there were in his company the lord de Brederode, sir Joseph and sir Thierry de Lavare, sir Vivant de Chuperois, and several more, who each performed well their duty.

In another quarter of the town, posted at a gate, were sir Robert Dale, sir John Villain, the lord de Vindescot and sir Robert Mareschal. The attack here was very sharp, for the Flemings made vigorous assaults by land and water, in which many were killed and wounded on each side ; but more on the side of the Flemings than on that of the gentlemen, as the Flemings adventured themselves fool-hardily.

This attack lasted, without ceasing, from the break of day until full noon. A knight of the earl's party was slain, called sir Hugh de Rony, a Burgundian : he was much lamented, for he lost his life by too much boldnes, and for want of prudence. Rasse de Harzelle, the commander of the detachment, fought valiantly, and by his words and actions greatly encouraged the men of Ghent.

The assault ceased in the afternoon, for Rasse found he was labouring in vain, and that in Dendre-

monde

monde there were such brave men that it could not easily be taken : his troops also began to be fatigued. He therefore sounded a retreat, when the men retired in a handsome manner along the river side, bringing off their fleet of boats ; and on the morrow they returned to their army before Oudenarde.

CHAP. XXVI.

SEVERAL ASSAULTS ARE MADE ON OUDENDARDE.

—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE FLEMINGS AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS, BY MEANS OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

THE siege of Oudenarde continued for a long time ; and the Flemings before it were masters of the river and of the adjoining country, so that no provision could be introduced without great danger, and on the side towards Hainault. Sometimes victuallers, in hopes of gain, ventured, whilst the army was asleep, to come close to the barriers with provision, which by that means were brought into Oudenarde.

Among the many attacks made on the town, there was one which was very vigorous : it lasted the whole day. Upon this occasion, some new knights were created from Flanders, Hainault and Artois, who wished to distinguish themselves. These new knights advanced to the barriers, where several skirmishes took place with the men of Ghent, in which

which many were killed and wounded : but they paid little attention to this, and being regardless of death, they advanced so boldly that when those in the front were slain or disabled, the rear dragged them out, took their places, and kept a handsome countenance. This attack lasted until the evening, when those of Oudenarde returned into their town, and shut the gates and barriers : they then buried their dead, and took great care of their wounded.

The Flemings thought they should certainly conquer the town by assault or by famine ; for they well knew they had so closely surrounded it by land and water that nothing could enter it ; and their remaining before it would not be of any detriment to them, for they were in their own country, and near their own homes. They had also every necessary article for their support, with all other things in great abundance and cheaper than they would have had them at Bruges or Ghent.

The earl of Flanders, being aware of the great number of men at arms that were in the town, suspected the intentions of the Flemings, that by keeping up the blockade, they would in the end starve them to a surrender : he would therefore willingly have listened to any overture for a negotiation that was honourable for him. To say the truth, this war against his subjects was highly disagreeable to him, and he had undertaken it contrary to his own opinion. His mother, the lady Margaret countess of Artois, blamed him much, and took great pains to put an end to it.

The countess resided in the city of Arras, whence
the

she wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to whom the heritage of Flanders would fall by his marriage with her grand-daughter, on the death of the earl. The duke, who had before received information of this affair, for news was daily brought to him on the subject, came to Arras, attended by his council, and sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, sir Guy de Pontalliers and several others. The countess received him with great joy, discussed with much wisdom the subject of this war between her son and his subjects ; how unbecoming and very displeasing it was not only to her but to all reasonable persons. She told him, that many valiant men, barons, knights and squires, were honourably shut up in the town of Oudenarde, and in very imminent danger ; and she begged, for God's sake, he would think of and provide a remedy.

The duke replied, that he was bound to do so, and would exert himself to the utmost of his power. Shortly after he left Arras, and went to Tournay, where he was joyfully received ; for the inhabitants of Tournay wished much for peace on account of their merchandize, which was shut up on the Scheld.

The duke of Burgundy sent the abbot de St. Martin to the army before Oudenarde to sound the leaders of the men from Ghent, if they would enter into a negotiation. The abbot brought the duke for answer, that out of respect to him, they would enter into a treaty : the duke granted passports, and received the same from the Flemings, for the negotiators

negotiators to meet at Pont de Rosne, where the first conference lasted from morning until night:

The duke himself went thither to parley with the Flemings; and, after the conference, he returned to Toufnay in company with the earl, whom he brought back with him.

These conferences continued for fifteen days. It was difficult to satisfy the Flemings, as they insisted on having Oudenarde demolished, to which the duke and his ministers would not consent.

The Flemings kept up a grand and haughty appearance, making no account of peace; for they maintained, that as those within Oudenarde could not leave it without great danger to themselves, they considered the town as conquered.

The duke of Burgundy, seeing these Flemings so proud and presumptuous, and so indifferent to conclude a treaty, could not conceive their meaning: he therefore requested a passport for his marshal to visit the knights in Oudenarde, which was instantly granted him. The marshal of Burgundy went into the town, and found the knights well provided, excepting some articles of which they were greatly in want: they, however, boldly said to the marshal; 'Tell my lord of Burgundy from us, not to enter into any dishonourable treaty on our account; for, through God's mercy, we are in good health, and care not for our enemies.' This answer pleased the duke much, who at the time was at Pont de Rosne: however, he did not neglect to push forward his negotiations.

To say the truth, those of Ypres and Bruges were tired

tired of the war, as well as those from the Franc, who saw winter approaching: they therefore argued in council, that since the duke of Burgundy, to accommodate the busines, had come thither in person, and had engaged to have every thing pardoned; since also the earl would return in an amicable manner to Ghent, there to reside, and, let what would happen, would never remember the past; all these considerations ought to be attended to; and they considered themselves bound to acknowledge their lord with respect, and not attempt to tear his inheritance from him.

These words greatly softened the men of Ghent, and they agreed to accept the treaty. The duke gave a most magnificent dinner to the principal persons from Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Courtray. On that day, it was settled that the siege should be raised, and a solid peace concluded between the earl and his subjects: that the earl should grant a general pardon to all, without any reservation, dissembling or exception whatever: that he should reside at Ghent, and that within a year the citizens of Ghent should rebuild the castle of Andreghien, which report said they had burnt. For the fuller confirmation of all this, John Pruniaux was to accompany the duke of Burgundy to Tournay, where it was to be properly drawn up and sealed. After this, the duke returned to Tournay, and John Pruniaux and John Boule remained with the army.

On the morrow, peace was proclaimed between the two parties, the siege was raised, and every man returned to his home. The earl disbanded his soldiers,

ders, and greatly thanked the foreigners for the gallant services they had done him : he then went to Lille, to execute the treaties which his son in law the duke of Burgundy had concluded for him.

Some of the neighbouring countries said, that this was a double-faced peace ; that there would be another rebellion ; and that the earl had only consented to it, in order to extricate such a number of noble knights and squires from the danger they ran in Oudenarde.

John Pruniaux, after the breaking up of the siege, went to Tournay, where the duke of Burgundy entertained him handsomely. The articles of the treaty were there completed, and sealed by the duke and the earl of Flanders. John Pruniaux afterwards returned to Ghent, and shewed what he had done. The duke of Burgundy had so well managed the men of Ghent, by kind words, that Oudenarde was saved from destruction ; for, when the siege was raised in conformity to the treaty, they would have demolished the gates and walls of the town, that it might remain open and ready for them to retire to.

The earl of Flanders having resided some time at Lille, after the duke of Burgundy had returned to France, went to Bruges, where he made a long stay : during which, he secretly shewed great displeasure to some of the citizens of Bruges, without, however, doing any thing more, nor seeming desirous of otherwise punishing them for their having so readily deserted his party, and placing themselves under the command of Ghent. These citizens

tizens excused themselves by saying, what was indeed true, that it had not been through any fault of theirs, but was solely owing to the small handicrafts of the town, who would ally themselves with those of Ghent when John Lyon came before Bruges. The earl passed over their misconduct with as fair looks as he could, but he did not the less remember it.

We will now leave him and the Flemings, and return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETURNS FROM ENGLAND,
AT THE ENTREATY OF HIS SUBJECTS.—THE
ENGLISH ARE DESIROUS OF MARRYING THEIR
YOUNG KING.—THE KNIGHTS OF ENGLAND SENT
TO THE AID OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MEET
WITH GREAT TEMPESTS AT SEA.

YOU have before heard that the duke of Brittany resided in England with king Richard and his uncles, who entertained him handsomely, and that his country was in great trouble; for the king of France had ordered thither his constable with a large body of men at arms, who had fixed their quarters at Pontorson, and near St. Michael's Mount, whence they made war on all the adjacent country. The inhabitants of the cities and principal towns kept themselves well inclosed, and

were very anxious for the return of their lord, to whom they had already sent letters and messengers: but he was fearful of trusting to them, until the prelates and barons of Brittany and the great towns began to murmur, and say; 'We send every week letters of invitation to the duke; but, instead of coming, he only returns us excuses.' 'In God's name,' said some of them, 'there must be a reason for this: we send to him in too simple a manner. We ought to send him a knight or two of rank, in whom he may trust, and who will fully explain to him the true state of the country.'

This proposal was agreed to; and two valiant knights, sir Geoffry de Querimel and sir Eustace de la Houssaye, were entreated to go to England, at the joint solicitations of the prelates, barons and principal towns in Brittany*.

These two knights made preparations for their voyage to England, and, embarking on board a vessel at Cano †, had weather and wind according to their wish. They made sail for Southampton, and there disembarked: continuing their journey to London, they found the duke and duchess of Brittany and sir Robert Knolles, who received them with great joy, and handsomely entertained them.

The knights then related to the duke the state and disposition of his country, and how very ar-

* The *histoire de la Bretagne* mentions three other persons as deputies, and cites the public acts for authority. Geoffry de Querimel was a favourite of the duke.

† Cano. Q. Concarneau.

dently

dently his return was wished for; to confirm which, they gave to the duke their credential letters from the prelates, barons and principal towns of Brittany.

The duke gave full credence to the knights and their letters, and said he would shew them to the king and his uncles, which he did.

When the king and his uncles heard all these things, and how the whole of Brittany, the prelates, barons and principal towns, excepting Guesclin, Laval, Clisson, Rohan and Rochefort, had sent to the duke their lord, supplicating him to return to his own country, the king said to him; ‘ You must go over to Brittany, since they send for you, and maintain your rights: we will shortly send to your assistance a sufficient force of men at arms to defend your frontiers; but you will leave the lady-duches with my mother and her brothers, whilst you go to carry on this war.’

The duke heard these words with great joy, and made his preparations accordingly: he was not long in having every thing ready at Southampton. When taking leave of the king, the princess of Wales, and of his duchess, he made a strict treaty of alliance with the king of England, and swore on his faith, that if he should speedily be succoured by the English, he would always remain steadily attached to them, and do all in his power to make his country join with him; and that England should always find his ports open, whenever her fleets should come thither.

After this, he set out from London, accompanied

by sir Robert Knolles and the two knights who were sent to him, with about one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers. There was a short delay at Southampton, waiting for a favourable wind, where they embarked. They landed at Guerrande*, and rode on to Vannes.

The inhabitants of that city received the duke with great demonstrations of joy, as indeed did the whole country when they heard of his arrival.

The duke refreshed himself for five days, or thereabouts, in Vannes, and then went to Nantes : there he was waited on by barons, prelates, knights, ladies and damsels, who all offered their services, and put themselves under his obedience. They greatly complained of the French, and of the constable, who had quartered himself in the country near Rennes.

The duke said ; ‘ My friends, I shall shortly have aid from England ; for without the assistance of the English, I shall not be able to defend myself against the French ; otherwise they will be too strong for us, seeing that we are not all in this country of one mind. But when the forces which the king of England has promised shall be arrived, if they have done you wrongs, we will return them the compliment.’ This speech greatly pleased those of the duke’s party who were present.

In this year, about St. Andrew’s day, died the lord Charles, king of Germany and emperor of

* Guerrande,—a town in Brittany, between the rivers Vilaine and Loire, diocese of Nantes.

Rome. King Charles had done so well by money and by his great connections, that the electors of the empire had given it under their oaths and seals, they would elect, after his decease, his son emperor, and exert their whole power to maintain the siege before Aix, and to defend him against all opposers; so that, after the death of Charles, his son Wenceslaus, who before was king of the Romans, signed himself emperor of Rome, king of Germany and Bohemia.

About this same season, there were many councils held in England, by the uncles of the king, the prelates and barons, relative to marrying the young king Richard. The English would have preferred a princess of Hainault, out of love for that good lady queen Philippa, who had been so virtuous, liberal and honourable, and who had come from Hainault; but duke Albert, at that time, had not any daughters marriageable.

The duke of Lancaster would willingly have seen the king, his nephew, married to his daughter, whom he had had by the lady Blanch of Lancaster, but the people would not have consented to this for two reasons; that the lady was his cousin-german, and too nearly related; and that they wished the king to choose a queen from beyond sea, in order to gain stronger alliances.

The sister of the king of Bohemia and of Germany, daughter of the lately deceased emperor, was then proposed, and the whole council assented to it.

Sir Simon Burley, a sage and valiant knight, who

who had been the king's tutor, and much beloved by the prince his father, was nominated to go to Germany, to treat of this marriage, as a wise and able negotiator. Every necessary preparation was ordered, as well for his expences as otherwise. He set out from England magnificently equipped, and arrived at Calais; from thence he went to Gravelines, and continued his journey until he came to Brussels, where he met the duke Wincelaus of Brabant, the duke Albert, the count de Blois, the count de St. Pol, sir William de Maulny, and numbers of knights from Brabant, Hainault and other parts, partaking of a grand feast of tilts and tournaments; and it was on this occasion all these lords were there assembled.

The duke and duchess of Brabant, from the love they bore the king of England, received his knight most courteously. They were much rejoiced on hearing the cause of his journey into Germany, and said it would be a good match between the king of England and their niece. They gave to sir Simon Burley, on his departure, special letters to the emperor, to assure him they approved very much of this marriage. The knight set out from Brussels, and took the road through Louvain to Cologne.

About this time, the king of England and his council ordered two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers to Brittany, under the command of sir John Arundel: sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Walter Pole, sir John Bourchier, the lord Ferrers and the lord

lord Basset were appointed to this expedition. These knights made all the preparation they wanted, and went to Southampton, where they embarked on board their vessels. When they had a favourable wind, they set sail.

The first day, it was fair; but, towards evening, it veered about, and became quite contrary, which drove them, whether they would or not, on the coasts of Cornwall. The wind was so strong and impetuous, they were afraid to cast anchor. On the morrow, the storm continued as fierce as ever, and forced them into the Irish sea; when it became so violent, three of their ships sunk, on board of which were sir John Arundel, sir Thomas Banafter and sir Hugh Calverley. Upwards of eighty perished of their complement of men at arms, and in the number the commander in chief, sir John Arundel, which was great pity, for he was a valiant and enterprising knight.

Sir Thomas Banafter and sir Walter Pole, two brave knights, were drowned, and many others.

Sir Hugh Calverley never before experienced greater peril; for all those who were in his vessel were drowned, except himself and seven sailors; but sir Hugh and the sailors took to the masts and tables to save themselves, and, as the wind was strong, they were blown on the shore: but, having swallowed much sea-water, they were long sick and uncomfortable.

Sir Thomas Trivet, sir John Bourchier, the lords Ferrers and Basset escaped this danger, with others: however,

however, they were much driven and tumbled about.

When the tempest ceased, they returned as well as they could to Southampton, and waited on the king and his uncles ; to whom they related their misfortunes, including sir Hugh Calverley among the drowned : but it was not so, as it afterwards appeared when he came to London.

This expedition was put an end to ; and the duke of Brittany did not receive any assistance from the English, which was very much against him ; for all that season and the ensuing winter the French carried on a destructive war. The Bretons, that is to say, sir Oliver de Clisson and his men, took the town of Dinant, by means of vessels and boats, which they pillaged, and kept afterwards, for a long time, against the duke and the country.

We will now return to the affairs of Flanders.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE TOWN OF GHENT SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS, TO ENTREAT HIM TO COME THITHER.

WHEN peace was concluded between the earl of Flanders and the men of Ghent, by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, which gained him

him great popularity throughout the country, the men of Ghent were very desirous that the earl should come and fix his residence in their town. The provost of Haerlabeke had strongly advised the earl to improve the affection between him and Ghent, in which he was seconded by all the earl's relations.

The earl, however, continued to reside at Bruges, and never went near Ghent, which surprised every one; but, in particular, the well-intentioned and principal inhabitants, who were anxious for peace. As for the white hoods and pillagers, who only sought disturbance, they dreaded his return; for they suspected, that if he did come, they would be privately corrected for the evils they had done.

Notwithstanding these doubts of the magistracy and town-council, the rich men were particularly impatient for his arrival, and wished they would send to request it; for they did not look upon the peace as stable until he should have resided in Ghent.

Twenty-four deputies were selected to go to Bruges, to declare to the earl the great love the town of Ghent had for him, and their wishes for his residence among them. They set off in a magnificent manner, as those should who wait on their lord; but they were told on leaving the town, 'Never think of returning to Ghent, unless you bring back the earl with you; otherwise you will find the gates shut.'

Thus did the citizens of Ghent set out, taking the road towards Bruges. When they were between

tween Deynse and Bruges, they learnt that the Earl was coming, which gave them great pleasure; and, after they had rode on about a league, they perceived the earl in the plain. On seeing him, they advanced in two divisions, making a lane, through which the earl and his knights passed.

The citizens made low reverences, and shewed every mark of respect to the earl and to his attendants: but he scarcely looked at them, only touched a little his hat; and, during the whole time, he never noticed them. Thus they all rode on; the earl on one side, the deputation from Ghent on another; until they came to Deynse, where they stopped, for the earl was to dine there. The deputation took some houses for themselves, and dined also. After dinner, they all waited on the earl; and, having knelt down before him (for the earl was seated), they presented to him the humble affection of the citizens of Ghent, and remonstrated with him, that from their great love to him, and their earnest desire for him to reside among them, they had been deputed, adding; ‘On our departure, my lord, the townsmen said, that we must not think of returning unless we brought you with us.’

The earl, who had well heard these words, was for a time silent; when he said calmly,—‘I willingly believe all you say, and that many in Ghent wish me to come thither: but I am surprised they do not recollect, nor seem inclined to remember former times, when I was so desirous of complying with all their requests, and how I expell'd from the

the country such of my gentlemen as they complained of, in compliance with their laws. I have too often opened my prisons, to surrender up mine and their own burgettes, whenever they solicited it. I have loved and esteemed them more than any other of my subjects ; and they have behaved to me quite the contrary, slain my bailiff, destroyed the houses of my people, driven away my officers, burnt the house in the world which I loved the most, forced my towns to side with them, murdered my knights in the town of Ypres : in short, they have acted so wickedly towards me and my rights that I am tired of mentioning them, and wish never to remember them ; but, whether I will or not, I cannot help doing so.'

'Ah, my lord,' replied the deputies, 'do not think more of what has passed : you have pardoned us for all those evil deeds.'

'That is true,' answered the earl, 'and I do not mean, by what I have just said, that in time to come you shall fare the worse for it. I only point out to you the great cruelties and wickedness which I have suffered from the town of Ghent.'

The earl was then softened : rising up, he made them rise also, and, calling to the lord de Ruiseliers who was near him, said, 'Let them bring wine.' The deputation drank of it, and then retired to their lodgings, where they remained all night, for the earl staid there. On the morrow, they all rode together towards Ghent.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS ENTERS THE TOWN OF GHENT, AND SECRETLY DEPARTS FROM IT.—THE WALLS OF OUDENARDE ARE RAZED BY THE WHITE HOODS, THEIR ALLIES AND ACCOMPLICES.

WHEN the inhabitants of Ghent heard the earl was on his road thither, they were much rejoiced, and went out to meet him on horseback and on foot : they bowed very lowly when they met him, and shewed him all the reverence in their power ; but he passed on without saying a word, only just bowed his head to them.

He rode to his hôtel, called la Pôterne, where he dined. Great presents were made him by the town, and the magistrates waited on him, who humbled themselves greatly in his presence, as was but right.

The earl addressed them, saying, ‘that when there was a stable peace, every thing ought to have a peaceable appearance : I would, therefore, that these white hoods be laid aside, and some amends made for the death of my bailiff, for his family are very importunate with me on the subject.’

‘ My lord,’ replied the magistrates, ‘ that is fully our intention ; and we beseech your highness, that you would have the goodness to come to-morrow to the square, and explain to your subjects, in an amicable

amicable manner, what your wishes are: they will be so much rejoiced on seeing you again that they will comply with all your desires.'

The earl agreed to their request. In the evening, it was known to numbers, that the earl was, on the morrow, to harangue the people at eight o'clock in the morning, in the market-place. Good men were much pleased thereat; but the mad and outrageous thought little of it, and said they had had enough of harangues, and knew well what they were to do.

John Pruniaux, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle and Peter du Bois, leaders of the white hoods, were fearful that every thing would be laid to their charge, and, having discoursed together, sent for some of their men, making choice of those that were the worst and most violent of their companies, and said to them; 'Be sure you remain all this night and to-morrow armed; and, whatever may be said to you, do not put off your white hoods; but be all of you in the market-place to-morrow by eight o'clock, and make not any riot unless it be first begun on you. You will either give these orders to your companies or send them by a safe hand.' They answered they would punctually comply, which they did.

The next morning, at eight o'clock, they all went to the market-place, but not in a body: they separated in different parties, for their leaders were then among them. The earl came on horseback to the market-place, attended by his knights, squires and magistrates of the town. John de Faucille

Fauville was with him, and upwards of forty of the richest and most respectable inhabitants.

The earl, as he was passing up the market-place, cast his eyes on the white hoods, which made him melancholy : he dismounted, as did his attendants, and went to a window, from whence he leaned out, on a crimson cloth, which had there been spread for him.

The earl began to address the people with a very discreet speech, in which he shewed what love and affection he had borne them before they had angered him. He remonstrated, that a prince and sovereign lord ought to be loved, feared, obeyed and honoured by his subjects, and explained how very contrary they had acted. He also noticed how well he had always defended them against their enemies, and had kept them in peace and prosperity : that he had opened to them communications by sea, which before his joyful accession had been shut against them. He displayed much argument and good sense, which were understood by the wife, and acknowledged for truth. He was well listened to by several, but by others not at all, for they were desirous of confusion.

When he had spoken an hour, he concluded by saying, ' that after having so fully explained every thing, he was willing to continue their good lord, in the same manner as he had formerly been : that he forgave all the injuries and contempt they had shewn him ; and that he would never more recollect the evil deeds which had passed, but would preserve to them their rights and franchises, as he had

had done. He entreated, therefore, that no novelties might be introduced, and that those white hoods should be laid aside.'

During the first part of his speech, all were silent, as if there had not been any one present; but, the moment he touched on the white hoods, murmurs were heard on all sides, which shewed it was on that account.

The people were then entreated to retire to their houses in a peaceable manner. The earl left the market-place with his attendants, and the rest went to their homes. But I must say, that the white hoods came the first to the market-place, and were the last to quit it; and, when the earl pressed through them, they looked ill-humoured at him, disdaining to pull off their caps, which affected him much; for he said afterwards to his knights, when retired to la Pôterne; 'I shall never gain my wish with these white hoods: they are an accursed wicked people. My mind tells me, things will not remain long as they now are: if I may judge from appearances, there is much evil intended; and, were I to lose all, I will not suffer such pride and wickedness.'

The earl remained four or five days at Ghent, and then he departed in such a manner as shewed he never again intended returning thither. He went to Lille, where he made his preparations for passing the winter. He scarcely took leave of any one when he quitted Ghent, and set out much out of humour, for which several of the town were displeased, and said he would never do them any good

good again ; that they would no more love him than he did them : he had now left them as he had done before ; and that Gilbert and his brothers had so advised, seeing that he had so suddenly, and without affection, departed from Ghent.

John Pruniaux, Rasse de Harzelle, John Boule and Peter du Bois, with the other wicked captains, were much pleased at all this, and spread rumours over the town, that the earl would return in the summer with sufficient force to break the peace ; that it behoved every one to be on his guard, and to lay in good store of corn, oats, meat, salt, and all sorts of provision, for that no dependance could be placed on the earl.

The townsmen, therefore, laid in very great stores of all things necessary for them : when it was told the earl, he was mightily surprised, and could not guess why they were so very suspicious. To say the truth, when all which I have related is duly considered, one cannot but wonder how the men of Ghent dissembled, and had done so from the beginning. The rich and principal men of the town could not excuse themselves for their conduct at the commencement of these commotions ; for certainly if they had been willing, when John Lyon first introduced the wearing of white hoods, they could easily have prevented it : they might have sent against the canal-diggers of Bruges other men who would have done as well as the white hoods : but they permitted them, because they did not choose to have it thought they were against the franchises of the town. They therefore

fore consented to every thing, for which the richest and most discreet men paid very dearly afterwards. They were no longer masters in the town, and dared neither speak nor act but as the white hoods pleased. They said, that neither for John Lyon nor for Gilbert Matthew, nor for their wars and hatreds would they take part ; but they were united in one point, the preserving and defending the franchises of the citizens of Ghent, which they afterwards demonstrated, for they made a war which lasted for seven years ; and, during that time, there were no quarrels in the town, which was their great cause of defence both at home and abroad. They were so much united together that there were not any distractions among them, but each subscribed his money and jewels to the general fund ; and those among them who had the greatest abundance gave it to this stock, as you shall hear related.

Not long after the earl of Flanders' departure from Ghent, and fixing his residence at Lille, Oliver d'Auterme, cousin-german to Roger d'Auterme whom the men of Ghent murdered, sent his defiance to that town, in revenge for his death. Sir Philip de Mamânes did the same, as well as several others. After these challenges had been delivered, they met about fifty boats, with their crews, descending the Scheld, laden with corn for Ghent, on whom they retaliated for the death of their cousin : having seized the mariners, they put out their eyes, and in this maimed and miserable state they sent them to Ghent.

The citizens of Ghent looked on this act as a personal injury done to them: when complaints of it were brought before the magistrates, they were much enraged, and knew not what to say. There were great murmurings throughout the town; and the majority of the inhabitants said the earl of Flanders had done it, so that scarcely any one that was a respectable character could offer any thing in his defence.

The instant John Pruniaux, who was at the time the principal leader and master of the white hoods, heard this news, without saying a word to the magistrates of the town, (I know not if he mentioned his plan to the other captains, his companions, but I should suppose he did,) assembled the greater part of the white hoods, and others equally inclined to do evil, and marched out of Ghent, taking the road to Oudenarde.

When he came thither, there was not any guard nor centinel, for they suspected nothing: he seized the gate, and entered the town with his men, who amounted to more than five thousand. When morning came, he set labourers to work, with carpenters and masons whom he had brought with him; and they never ceased working until they had destroyed the two gates, the towers and the walls, which they flung into the ditch on the side towards Ghent.

Now, how could those excuse themselves who had consented to this wicked deed? for they remained in Oudenarde upwards of a month, destroying the gates and walls. If they had remanded their

their people as soon as it was known what they were doing, one might have excused them; but they did no such thing: on the contrary, they winked at it, and suffered them to proceed, until news was carried to the earl, who resided at Lille, how John Pruniaux had stolen into Oudenarde, and was destroying two of the gates and walls of it, as well as the towers.

The earl was in great choler on hearing this; indeed, he had good cause for it; and said, 'Ha, these accursed people! the devil possesses them: I shall never have peace so long as these Ghent men have such power.' He then sent some of his council to the magistrates of Ghent, to remonstrate with them on the violent outrage they had committed, and to declare they were people with whom no terms could be kept, since the peace which the duke of Burgundy had with great difficulty procured for them had been already broken and infringed.

The mayor and jurats of the town of Ghent excused themselves by saying, 'that they never thought of breaking the peace, nor had they any such wish or inclination; and that, if John Pruniaux had of himself committed any outrage, the town would not avow it.' They excused themselves loyally and fully; but they added, 'that the earl had permitted great excesses to be committed against them, by those of his household, who had wounded and slain some of their fellow-citizens; and this was much felt by the whole town. What say you, my lords, to this?'

The commissaries from the earl replied, 'they had well revenged themselves.' 'Oh no,' answered the magistrates: 'we do not say that what John Pruniaux has done at Oudenarde was by way of revenge; for we can clearly prove by the treaty of peace, if we choose, and we appeal to the testimony of the duke of Burgundy, that Oudenarde was to have been dismantled by us, or put in the state it is now in: but, at the entreaty of the duke, we did not then insist upon it.'

The commissaries replied; 'It appears then, by what you have said, that you ordered it to be done, and you cannot now excuse yourselves from this charge: since you knew that John Pruniaux was gone to Oudenarde, (whither he had marched with a large army, and had surprised it under shadow of the peace,) and that he was destroying the fortifications, and throwing the walls into the ditch, you ought to have gone thither and forbidden him to commit such outrages, until you should have laid your complaints before the earl. Of the wounding and assaulting your citizens, you should have addressed yourselves to the duke of Burgundy, who had made the peace, and remonstrated with him on the business. By this means, your quarrels would have been made up; but you have not done so. My lord of Flanders therefore informs you, that since you have thus contumaciously behaved yourselves towards him, and then petition him with swords in your hands, he will one day take such cruel revenge on you that all the world shall ever afterwards speak of it.'

They

They then left the mayor and jurats of Ghent, and, after they had dined, set out on their return through Courtray to Lille; when they related to the earl what they had done, and what excuses the town of Ghent had made.

CHAP. XXX.

THE MEN OF GHENT SURRENDER OUDENARDE.—
THEY DESTROY THE HOUSES OF THE NOBLES.
—A CRUEL AND PITILESS WAR RENEWED BE-
TWEEN THE MEN OF GHENT AND THE NOBI-
LITY.

ONE may well be surprised to hear the matter of this treaty so diversely spoken of, and such astonishing accounts told of it, which every one who reads may understand. Some said, the men of Ghent were in the right to make this war, which was so cruel and of such long continuance in Flanders, adding, they had a just cause for so doing; but it does not so appear to me from what I have seen, nor can I learn or understand but that the earl always preferred peace to war, excepting where his honour and dignity were concerned. Did he not give up the citizen who was confined in his prison at Erdo? Yes, he did; and they murdered his bailiff. In order to preserve peace, he again pardoned them this outrage; when they in one day caused an insurrection throughout all Flanders against

against him, and slew, even in the town of Ypres, five of his knights. They afterwards attacked Oudenarde, and besieged it, doing every thing in their power to take and destroy it. After this, peace was concluded; but they refused to make any atonement for the death of Roger d'Auterme, though his family had frequently demanded it; for which that family had revenged themselves on some mariners, by whom all these disturbances were originally created: and was this a sufficient reason for the total destruction of Oudenarde? I think not; and this opinion is confirmed by many others agreeing in it. They said in reply, that the earl had other things to settle with Ghent; and insisted on having reparation made for what had been done to the mariners, before they would surrender Oudenarde.

The earl was exceedingly enraged, as well as his council, that the Ghent men should keep possession of Oudenarde. He knew not how to expel them from it, which made him sorely repent, that notwithstanding the peace he had entered into with Ghent, he had not more strongly guarded it. He frequently wrote, and sent to them to surrender it to him; otherwise he would wage so severe a war that they should for ever remember it.

The citizens of Ghent were unwilling to avow this act; for, if they had, the peace would have been broken. At last, some of the principal inhabitants, who wished for peace and tranquillity, such as John de Faucille, Guisebert de Guife, sir Simon Bete and many others, undertook the business; and, after

after twelve days negotiating, those from Ghent who were in Oudenarde returned home, and the town was surrendered to the earl's men. In order further to appease the earl, John Pruniaux was banished from Ghent and from Flanders for ever: his sentence stated it as the reason, that he had gone and taken possession of Oudenarde without the knowledge of the magistrates of Ghent.

Sir Philip de Mamines, sir Oliver d'Auterme, le Galois de Mamines, le bastard de Widringues, and all those who had been actors or abettors in the maiming the mariners of Ghent, were also banished the country. These banishments appeased both parties.

Pruniaux quitted Flanders, and went to Ath in Brabant. Sir Philip de Mamines went to Valenciennes in Hainault; but, when those of Ghent heard it, they worked upon the provost and jurats of Valenciennes, so that the provost, John Paris, prevailed on the knight quietly to leave the town: he departed of his own free will, and resided at Warlain, near Douay, until he heard better news.

The other knights and squires went from Flanders to Brabant, where they remained until more agreeable intelligence made them quit it.

As soon as the earl of Flanders had regained possession of Oudenarde, he sent thither numbers of workmen to repair the gates, towers and walls, which he made stronger than before: the ditches also were deepened.

All this was known at Ghent; but they took no notice

notice of it, lest they should be reprimanded for having infringed the peace.

The discontented, however, said among themselves ; ‘ Let them work as long as they please in repairing Oudenarde, for, were it now of steel, it could not resist us, whenever we may choose to take it.’

Although there was peace in Flanders, the earl had constant suspicions of Ghent ; for every day some tales were brought him respecting it : and similar ones were told of him to the townsmen of Ghent.

John de Faucille went to reside at Nazareth, a very handsome and strong house of his a good league distant from Ghent. He dissembled there as long as he was able, and would not be of the town-council, in order to avoid being marked by the earl. He also absented himself very much from his attendance on the earl, to preserve his popularity in Ghent, and thus, as it were, swimming between two streams, kept himself as much neuter as he could.

During the time the earl was repairing Oudenarde, and had just finished it, he was earnest, by letters and messages to his cousin the duke of Brabant, to get possession of John Pruniaux, who resided at Ath. He managed the matter so well that he was delivered up, and brought to Lille, where he was beheaded, and his body placed on a wheel as a traitor. Such was the end of John Pruniaux.

At this same time, the earl came to Ypres, and held

held there several courts of justice, by whose judgments many wicked people were beheaded; such as fullers and weavers, who had opened the gates to the men of Ghent, and slain the earl's knights, that others might from them take warning.

All this was told in Ghent, which made them more suspicious than before, especially the leaders of the expeditions to Oudenarde. They said among themselves: 'Certainly the earl will, if he can, destroy all of us. He loves us so well, he only wants our lives. Has he not put to death John Pruniaux? In truth, we must own that we acted very wrong in regard to John Pruniaux, when we suffered him to be banished: we are guilty of his death; and, if they can catch us, such an end as his awaits us. Let us be on our guard.'

Peter du Bois added: 'If you will be advised by me, there shall not a gentleman's house of any strength remain in the country about Ghent; for by such houses we may all be destroyed, if we do not take care and provide a remedy.' The others answered, 'You say well: come quick, let us down with them all.'

Upon this, the captains, Peter du Bois, John Boule, Rasse de Hatzelle, John de Launoy and several others, made preparations for setting out from Ghent, which they did, and burnt and destroyed all the houses of the gentlemen: whatever they found therein, they divided among themselves as fair booty. After this, they returned to Ghent; and none were bold enough to say to them, You have done ill.

The

The gentlemen, knights and squires, who resided at Lille with the earl, on hearing this, were much enraged, and with reason: they told the earl, that this outrage ought to be punished, and the pride of the ghent men humbled.

The earl gave to these knights and squires permission to make war on Ghent, and revenge themselves for the injuries they had suffered. They made alliances with many knights and squires of Flanders, and entreated their friends in Hainault to assist them, and chose for their commander le Hasle de Flandres, the eldest bastard son of the earl, a right valiant knight.

This Hasle de Flandres and his companions sometimes fixed their quarters in Oudenarde, at others at Gavres, Aloft or Dendremonde, and had frequent skirmishes with the ghent men. They advanced up to the barriers of the town, and destroyed almost all the windmills which were around it, committing other injuries on Ghent. They had with them a young knight from Hainault, well inclined to serve them, whose name was sir James de Verchin, sénéchal of Hainault.

He performed many gallant deeds, and adventured himself sometimes too rashly, in tilting close to the barriers, and twice or thrice won from them their helmets and cross-bows. This sir James de Verchin was very fond of arms, and would have greatly excelled if he had lived longer; but he died young, and in his bed, at the castle of Ombre, near Mortaigne, which was a great loss.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE NOBLES MAKE WAR UPON THE FLEMINGS.

THE men of Ghent had been very free in their jokes and mockeries of the noblemen and gentry of Flanders, but were afterwards sorry for it, and had once intentions of sending to duke Albert of Hainault, to request he would recal his knights who were making war against them ; but, on reconsidering the business, they thought it would only be lost labour, for the duke would not interfere in it. They were unwilling also to anger him more, for they should fare ill without his country ; and if Hainault, Holland and Zealand were shut against them, they might consider themselves as ruined. They therefore gave up this, and followed other council, which was to send to those knights and squires of Hainault who held possessions within Ghent or its dependancy, to come and serve them under pain of losing their estates : they, however, paid no attention to their summons.

To this effect, they sent to sir Hervé, lord d'Antoing, who had an estate in Ghent, and was also constable of the castle, to assist them, or he would lose the rights of his castlewick ; and, because he would not obey their summons, they razed his house of Vienne to the ground.

The lord d'Antoing sent them word, he would cheerfully

cheerfully serve them at their expense, and to their ruin ; that they were not to place any dependance on him, for he would always be their enemy, and oppose them in every instance ; that he would not hold any thing of them, but from his lord the earl of Flanders, to whom he owed service and obedience.

This lord kept well the promise he had made them ; for he waged a mortal war against Ghent, and did them many injuries. He reinforced the castle with men and stores, by which means those in Ghent were much annoyed.

On the other hand, the lord d'Anghien, whose name was Walter, though a young squire, but well inclined, did them much mischief. The war was thus sharply carried on during the whole season. The ghent men dared not venture out of their town but in large troops ; for whenever they met their enemies, if in superior numbers, they were all slain without mercy.

Thus was the war embittered between the earl of Flanders and Ghent, which afterwards cost a hundred thousand lives twice told ; and with great difficulty could any end be put to it and peace re-established, for the leaders in Ghent knew they had done such evil deeds against the earl of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy that they were persuaded no treaty could be made or sworn to, whatever the outward appearance of it might be, but that their lives would be sacrificed.

This made them firm in their resolutions, and resolved to keep up the division and war against the

the earl and gentlemen of Flanders: it also gave them the courage to fight desperately, which, however, sometimes ill befel them in their enterprizes, as you will hear related.

The earl of Flanders, who had fixed his residence at Lille, received daily information of the ill deeds of the men of Ghent, how they were destroying and burning the houses of his nobles: he was sore vexed, and said he would take so great a revenge on Ghent, that he would put it in fire and flames, with all the inhabitants within it. In order to be more powerful, the earl summoned all the barons of Flanders, and gave up to them the whole country, the better to resist the white hoods. He appointed two leaders, Galois de Mamines and Peter d'Estrevilles. These two, with their company, bore the banner of the earl, and remained about three weeks between Oudenaarde and Courtray, upon the Lys, where they did much damage.

When Raffe de Harzelle was informed of this, he marched out of Ghent with the white hoods, to Deynfe, where he thought to meet the army of the earl: but, when they knew that the ghent men were on their march, they retreated to Tournay, and strengthened the town. They continued there, and in the neighbourhood of Damme, Orchies and Vorlam a considerable time, so that the merchants dared not go from Tournay to Douay for fear of them. It was reported, the ghent men intended besieging Lille and the earl within it; and for this purpose they would have formed an alliance with Bruges and Ypres. They had gained over Gramont

mont and Courtray ; but those of Bruges and Ypres were irresolute. They had disagreed with the handicraft trades, declaring it would be a great folly to go so far to lay siege to Lille ; for the earl, their lord, might form an alliance with the king of France, as he had formerly done, and receive from him much assistance.

These doubts kept the principal towns of Flanders at this time from entering into the war, so that no siege was formed. To prevent the earl from entering into any treaty with his son-in-law the duke of Burgundy, they sent ambassadors, with most amicable letters, to the king of France, to supplicate him, for the love of God, not to take any part to their disadvantage ; for their only wish was love, peace, obedience and service ; and that their lord had very wrongfully and wickedly oppressed and harassed them : that what they were now doing was only for the preservation of their franchises, which their lord wanted to destroy.

The king was somewhat inclined in their favour, though he shewed not any appearance of it in public. The duke of Anjou, his brother, did the same ; for, although the earl of Flanders was their cousin, he was not in their good graces, on account of his having entertained the duke of Brittany for a long time much against their wills. They therefore troubled not themselves about his affairs : neither did pope Clement, who said, that God had sent him this rod because he was his enemy and would not acknowledge him as pope.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE DEATH OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN,
CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

THE good constable of France, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, had remained in Auvergne with many able men at arms. He had laid siege to Chateau neuf de Randon*, three leagues from the city of Mende†, and four from the town of Puy in Auvergne, in the castle of which he had shut up several English and Gascons, who had come from the country of Limousin, where there were plenty of fortresses.

The constable made many severe attacks on the castle during the siege, and swore that he would never depart until he was the master of it. When there, he was seized with so great a sickness that he kept his bed : this, however, did not prevent the siege from being continued : indeed, it was carried on by his army with greater eagerness.

Sir Bertrand's malady was so deadly that he fell a victim to it, which was a severe loss to his friends and to the kingdom of France. His body was carried to the church of the Cordeliers of Puy in

* Chateau neuf de Randon,—a village in lower Languedoc.

† Mende,—an ancient city in lower Languedoc, twenty-eight leagues from Alby.

Auvergne,

Auvergne, where it remained one night; and on the morrow it was embalmed, conveyed to St. Denis in France, and buried in a tomb very near that of king Charles of France, which the king had caused to be made in his life-time. By his order, the body of sir Bertrand, his constable, was placed at his feet; and his obsequies were performed with the same honours as if he had been his own son: the king's brothers, as well as great numbers of the nobility, attended.

By the death of sir Bertrand, the office of constable became vacant; on which many councils were held to nominate a successor. Several great barons of France were thought of: in particular, the lords de Clisson and de Coucy. The king of France appointed the lord de Coucy governor of all Picardy, and also gave him the domain of Mortaigne, which is a handsome heritage, situated between Tournay and Valenciennes.

sir James de Verchin, the young sénéchal of Maine, was turned out of it: he held it in succession from his father, who had been lord of it for a long time. I say, therefore, the lord de Coucy was greatly in favour with the king of France, who was desirous to nominate him constable; but the gallant knight excused himself with many reasons, and refused to undertake so weighty a charge as that of constable, adding that sir Oliver de Clisson was the fittest person of any, for he was a valiant, enterprising and prudent knight, well known to and beloved by the Bretons.

Things remained thus for some time, when the men

men at arms of sir Bertrand returned to France ; for the castle had surrendered the same day the constable had died, and the garrison of it had gone to that of Ventadour.

When the king of France saw the men at arms of the constable, he turned aside for grief at the loss of him whom he had so much loved : he gave to each of them a handsome present suitably to their ranks.

We will now leave this subject, and relate how the earl of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III. of England, having assembled a large army of men at arms and archers, crossed the sea, and marched his army through France to Brittany.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY REQUESTS SUCCOUR
FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE EARL OF
BUCKINGHAM, YOUNGEST SON TO THE LATE
KING, IS APPOINTED COMMANDER OF THE
EXPEDITION.

YOU have before heard, that when the duke of Brittany left England, king Richard and his uncles promised him aid of men at arms and archers, which they performed with ill success ; for this was the expedition under the command of sir John Arundel, who with two hundred men at

arms were shipwrecked, he himself drowned with fourscore men at arms and as many archers, and from which sir Hugh Calverley and sir Thomas Trivet most narrowly escaped.

This unfortunate event put an end to the expedition, which not being known to the duke of Brittany, he and his council were exceedingly surprised, and could not conceive what was become of the English; for they were very anxious to profit by their assistance, in the sharp war which was carrying on against the duke by sir Oliver de Clisson, sir Guy de Laval, sir Oliver du Guesclin, the count de Longueville, the lord de Rochefort, and the French on the frontiers of his duchy.

The duke was advised to send some able men to England, to know why the reinforcements were not sent according to promise, and to hasten them over, for they were in great need of them.

The lord de Beaumanoir and sir Eustace de la Houssaye were entreated by the duke and his nobility to make this journey to England: they answered, they would willingly comply. Letters were given to them by the duke and the nobles of the country; when having departed, they embarked at Vannes, with a favourable wind, and arrived at Southampton.

They there disembarked, and, having mounted their horses, went to London. It was about Whitsuntide, in the year of grace 1380.

The arrival of these two lords was soon notified to the king and to his three uncles. The whitsun feast being arrived, the king went to Windsor to celebrate

celebrate it, attended by his uncles and great numbers of the barons and knights of England. The two ambassadors went thither also, and were graciously received by the king and the barons, when they presented their letters to his majesty and his uncles.

After they had perused them, they knew the great need the duke of Brittany had for assistance, from the earnest entreaties he and the country made for it.

The ambassadors then first heard of the death of sir John Arundel and his companions, who had perished at sea on their voyage to Brittany. The duke of Lancaster made excuses, saying, it was not owing to any fault of the king or his ministers, but ill fortune at sea, against which none can make head when God wills it so. The ambassadors, therefore, fully acquitted the king, and greatly lamented the deaths of those knights and squires who had perished.

When the feasts of Whitsuntide were over, a parliament was holden at Westminster, to which were summoned all the members of the council.

Whilst these things were passing, sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, departed this life in the city of London. He was buried in the church of the austin friars*. The king ordered his obsequies to be most honourably performed, and they were attended by a great number of the prelates

* Austin friars. See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

and barons of England: the bishop of London fung mass.

Soon after the parliament was opened, the lord Thomas, youngest son of the late king of England, and many barons, knights and squires of the realm, were ordered to cross the sea to Calais; and, if God should permit, they were to march through France, with three thousand men at arms and as many archers, so that the lord Thomas might arrive in Brittany, attended by earls, barons and knights suitably to the dignity of a king's son.

He undertook a bold task to pass through the kingdom of France, which is so extensive and noble, and which has such gallant chivalry and valiant men at arms.

When every thing relative to this expedition had been discussed and finally arranged, the king of England and his uncles wrote letters to the duke of Brittany and to the nobles of the country, informing them in part of their will, what had been determined on by the parliament, and that for a certainty the earl of Buckingham would this season cross the sea to march to their aid.

The king of England shewed the ambassadors many honours, and gave them very rich presents, as did also his uncles, when they set out on their departure for Brittany. They presented their letters to the duke, who, having opened and read them, shewed them to the states of his country, who were satisfied with their contents. The king of England and his uncles did not delay this expedition, but sent summons to all those who had
been

been selected to attend the earl of Buckingham ; the barons to assemble in one place, and the knights in another. They had their wages paid them at Dover for three months, which were to commence as soon as they should land at Calais, as well for the men at arms as the archers, and their passage over was given to them. They crossed in small parties to Calais, and were upwards of fifteen days before the whole had there landed.

Those of Boulogne having noticed such large bodies of men at arms continually crossing from Dover to Calais, gave notice of it to all the country and the different garrisons, that they might not be surprised.

When this intelligence was known in the Boulonnois, the Terouennois, and in the county of Guines, all the knights and squires of those countries placed their wealth in different strong towns, to avoid losing it.

The governors of Boulogne, Ardres, de la Montoire, d'Esperleck, de Tournehem, de Nordt, de Liques, and of other castles on the frontiers, exerted themselves greatly in strengthening and victualling their garrisons ; for they knew, that since the English had crossed over with so large a fleet, they would be attacked.

News of this armament was carried to the king of France, who resided at Paris. He sent immediate orders to the lord de Coucy, who at that time was at St. Quentin, to provide himself with men at arms, and to march to Picardy, to reinforce

inforce all the towns, cities and castles in that province.

The lord de Coucy duly obeyed the king's orders, and issued his summons at Peronne in the Vermandois, for the instant assembling all knights and squires of Artois, Vermandois and Picardy. The lord de Saimpi was at that time governor of Ardres, and sir John de Bouillé of Boulogne.

The earl of Buckingham arrived at Calais with his army three days before Magdalen-day, in the month of July 1380.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM MARCHES WITH HIS ARMY FROM CALAIS.

THE garrison in Calais were much rejoiced at the arrival of the earl of Buckingham, for they well knew it would not be long before they began their march. The earl having refreshed himself for two days at Calais, on the third departed, and took the field, following the road towards Marquignes*. It is proper I should name

* Marquignes—I suppose must be Marquise, a town in the Boulonnais, between Calais and Boulogne, five leagues from Calais.

command :

to you the banners and pennons under the earl's command : first, the earl himself, and the earl of Stafford who had married his niece, a daughter of the lord de Coucy, rode with displayed banners ; the earl of Devonshire, the lord Despencer who was constable of the army, the lord Fitzwalter marshal, the lord Basset, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrars, the lord Morley, the lord Darcey, sir William Windsor, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Hugh Hastings and sir Hugh de la Sente*, advanced with their pennons ; lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Clinton, sir Evan de Fitzwarren, sir Hugh Tyrrel, the lord de la Warr, sir Eustace and sir John de Harbston, sir William Farrington, the lord de Braose, sir William Fabre, sir John and sir Nicholas d'Ambreticourt, sir John Macé, sir Thomas Camois, sir Ralph son to the lord Neville, sir Henry bastard of Ferrars, sir Hugh Broc, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir Thomas West, the lord de Saincte More, David Holgrave, Huguelin de Calverley bastard, Bernard de Corderieres and several more.

These men at arms rode on in handsome array, but did not march farther the day they had left Calais than to Marquise, where they halted, to attend to their affairs, and to hold a council which road they should take to accomplish their expedition ; for there were several among them who had

* De la Sente. Q.

never

never been in France before: in particular, the king's son, and many barons and knights.

It was therefore but reasonable, that those who were acquainted with the kingdom of France, and having formerly passed through, had had several engagements in it, should have such weight given to their advice and opinions as redounded to their honour. True it is, that in former times, when the English invaded France, they had made a regulation, for the leaders to swear, in the presence of the king and his council, to observe two things; that to no one, except to themselves, would they reveal the secrets of their councils, their intended march, nor what might be their intentions; and secondly, that they would never agree to any treaty with the enemy without the knowledge and consent of the king and his council.

When these barons, knights and squires, with their men, had remained for three days at Marquise, and their whole force had joined them from Calais, the captains, having well considered their line of march, departed, and took the road to Ardres. They halted before the castle of Ardres, to shew themselves to the garrison within; when the earl of Buckingham having created the earl of Devonshire and the lord Morley knights, these two lords first displayed their banners.

The earl of Buckingham created also the following knights: the son of the lord Fitzwalter, sir Roger Strange, sir John d'Ypre, sir John Cole, sir James Tyrrel, sir Thomas Ramestone, sir John Neville,

Neville, sir Thomas Roselie. The whole army took up their quarters at Hosque*, when the above knights were made. The van-guard then marched to a strong house called Folant†, situated upon a river. There was a squire within it of the name of Robert, to whom the house belonged. He was a good man at arms, and had well garrisoned it with stores and hardy soldiers, whom he had picked up in the neighbourhood, to the amount of forty, who shewed every intention to defend themselves well.

These barons and knights, eager to do honour to their new knighthood, surrounded the tower of Folant, and immediately began the attack; but it was well defended by those within. Many a gallant deed was performed; and those in the fort shot well and continually, by which many of the assailants were killed and wounded who ventured too near. There were in the fort some good crofs-bowmen, whom the governor of St. Omer had sent thither at the squire's request; for he had imagined the English would pass near his house, and was resolved to defend it to the utmost of his power, which he did, for he behaved gallantly.

The earl of Devonshire, whilst he was on the ditch, his banner displayed before him, spoke out bravely, which greatly encouraged his men, saying, ‘ What, my lords! shall we so much disgrace our new honours as to remain all the day before this pigeon-house? The strong places and castles in

* Hosque. Q.

† Folant. Q.

France

France may well hold out against us, when such a place as this stops us. Advance, advance! let us prove our knighthoods.' Those who heard him took proper notice of what he said, and, sparing themselves less than before, leaped into the ditches, and made for the walls, the archers shooting so briskly that scarcely any dared shew themselves on the parapets.

Several were killed and wounded, and the lower court taken and burnt. At length, the whole garrison were made prisoners; but, though they had defended themselves well, none were mortally wounded. Thus was the house of Folant gained, and Robert Folant with his garrison made prisoners, by the earl of Devonshire and his men. The whole division took up their quarters on the banks of the river of Hosque, to wait for sir William Windsor, who commanded the rear-guard. He came thither in the evening. On the morrow, they marched off together, and advanced as far as Esperleck, where they lodged themselves.

The governor of St. Omer, finding the enemy so near, doubled his guards, and ordered two thousand men to be in readiness the whole night, that the enemy might not surprise the town. The next day, the English decamped, about six o'clock, and advanced in battle-array before St. Omer. The inhabitants, hearing of their march, armed themselves, according to the orders they had received, and drew up in the market-place, from whence they went to the gates, towers and battlements, with a determined resolution to resist, for they

they had heard that the English would attack the town ; but they had no such intentions, for, as it was very strong, they might lose more than they could gain.

The earl of Buckingham, however, who had never before been in France, wished to see St. Omer, because it appeared from its gates, walls, towers and steeples, to be a handsome place. He drew up and halted his army on a hill about half a league from it, where he remained for three hours. While there, some of the young knights and squires, mounting their coursers, spurred them up to the barriers and demanded to tilt with the knights in the town ; but, no answers being made to them, they returned back to the army.

The day the earl came before St. Omer, he made more knights ; among whom were sir Ralph Neville, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas d'Angleere, sir Ralph Patipas, sir Lewis St. Aubin and sir John Paulet. These new knights, in the first vigour of chivalry, mounted their horses, and galloped up to the gates, calling on the knights within to tilt with them ; but they experienced the same neglect as the others had done.

When the army saw that the french lords in St. Omer made not any attempt to come out to meet them, they continued their march, and came that day to Esquilles, between St. Omer and Terouenne, where they took up their quarters for the night. On the morrow, they departed, and made for Terouenne.

The

The french garrisons in the counties of Boulogne, Artois and Guines, having observed the dispositions of the English, that they continued their march without stopping at any place, mutually informed each other of their intentions to follow them, since much might be gained by it: they therefore assembled, under the pennons of the lord de Fransures and the lord de Saimpi, to the number of more than two hundred lances.

They pursued the english army; but, though they kept close to them, the English marched in such compact order, they were not put into the least disorder, and their enemies could not attack them, without the risk of suffering a total defeat. These french knights and squires, however, at times fell upon the english foragers, so that they dared not forage but in large companies.

The English passed Terouenne without attempting any thing, for the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures were within it. They marched on towards Bethune, where they halted for a day; and I will tell you the reason. You have before heard how king Richard, by the advice of his uncles and council, had sent into Germany sir Simon Burley, to the emperor*, to demand his sister in marriage. This knight so well managed the busines that the emperor, by advice of his council and the great lords of his court, complied with the request: but he had sent, with sir Simon Burley, the duke of Saxony, first to Luxembourg and then to England,

* Wincelaus VI. emperor.

to observe that kingdom, in order that his sister might have a just account of it, so that, if agreeable, the marriage might be concluded.

The cardinal of Ravenna was at that time in England, and, being an Urbanist, was converting the English to the same way of thinking: he was waiting also the arrival of the above-mentioned duke. At the entreaties of the emperor and the duke of Brabant, he and all his company obtained liberty to pass through France to Calais. They therefore travelled by way of Tournay, Lille and Bethune, from whence they came to visit the earl of Buckingham and his barons, who received the duke of Saxony and his suite most honourably. The Germans continued their journey through Aire and St. Omer, and from thence to Calais.

The earl of Buckingham marched his army before Liques, and encamped that same day at Bouhain les Bouiffieres; but they were constantly followed by the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures with their forces. In the morning, they advanced nearer to Bethune. There were in that town a numerous garrison of men at arms, knights and squires, whom the lord de Coucy had sent thither; such as the lord de Hangest, sir John and sir Tristan de Roye, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir Guy de Harcourt and many more. The army passed by Bethune without making any attempt to attack it, and lay at Donchères*.

* Q. if not Donchy, a village near Arras.

In the evening, the lords de Saimpi and de Farnfures entered Bethune, and the next day went to Arras, where they met the lord de Coucy, who received them very politely, inquiring news from them, and which road the English had taken. They replied, they had lodged the preceding night at Doncheres ; that they marched with very great prudence, for they constantly kept in close order. ‘It is then clear,’ answered the lord de Coucy, ‘that they wish for battle ; which they shall have, if the king our lord will trust us, before they have finished their march.’

The earl marched by Arras, in order of battle, continuing his route without doing any thing : he took up his quarters at Anet*, on the morrow at Miraumont†, and the next day at Clery on the Somme.

The lord de Coucy, who resided at Arras, on hearing they had gone this road, sent the lord Hangest to Braye sur Somme‡, and with him thirty lances, knights and squires : he ordered to Peronne sir James de Verchin, sénéchal of Hainault, the lord de Hamireth, sir John de Roye and several others : he himself went to St. Quentin. He sent the lord de Clery, with others, into the Vermandois ; for he was anxious that no loss should be suffered through any negligence on his part.

* Anet. Q.

† ‡ Miraumont,—Braye sur Somme,—villages in Picardy, election of Peronne.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE LORD DE BRIMEU, HIS SONS AND HIS MEN
ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.—
THE GARRISON OF PERONNE ARE DRIVEN
BACK INTO THAT TOWN.

THE night the English had quartered themselves at Clery on the Somme, some knights of the army, such as sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Clinton, sir Evan Fitzwarren, at the instigation of the lord Delawarr, who was well acquainted with the whole country, and knew that the lord de Coucy was with a large body of men at arms in the town of Arras, resolved to march from the army, at early dawn, with the foragers, to see if they should meet with any adventure worth attending to; for they wished to perform some deed of arms. As they had planned, so did they execute; and about thirty lances set out after the foragers, in search of adventures.

This same day, the lord de Coucy had left Arras with a large body of men, and had taken the road to St. Quentin. When they were on their march, the lord de Brimeu; his sons, with about thirty spears, quitted the army of the lord de Coucy, anxious to perform some gallant act. These two bodies of English and French, meeting in the plains, saw a combat was inevitable: they therefore struck

struck spurs into their horses, and galloped towards each other, shouting their cries of war. On the first shock, several were unhorsed, killed and wounded on both sides. Many handsome deeds were done: they dismounted, and began to thrust with their spears, each party behaving bravely. This mode of combat continued about an hour, and no one could say to whom would be the victory, but in the end the English won the field. Sir Thomas Trivet made prisoners the lord de Brimeu, and his two sons, John and Lewis, and sixteen men at arms: the rest saved themselves: and the English returned to their army with their prisoners.

They remained some little time in the neighbourhood of Peronne, having heard from their prisoners, that the lord de Coucy was in that town with upwards of a thousand lances, and they knew not if he wished to offer them battle.

This day, the lord Delawarr, with Fierabras his bastard-brother, sir Evan Fitzwarren and several others, quitting the army, hastened to Mont St. Quentin, where they posted themselves in ambuscade; for they had learnt that the sénéchal of Hainault was with a strong body of men at arms in Peronne, and they knew him to be so self-sufficient that he would not fail to sally out, which in truth he did.

The van-guard ordered ten men at arms to march to Peronne; among whom were Thierry de Soumain, Fierabras, sir Hugh Calverley and Hopoquin Hay, mounted on their chargers. They galloped up to the barriers, where there were at least fifty
spears

spears with the sénéchal of Hainault ; who, thinking to catch these gallopers, ordered the barriers to be thrown open, and immediately began a pursuit after them, as they retreated towards their ambuscade.

When those who had placed themselves in ambush saw the French pursuing their men, they discovered themselves ; but it was somewhat too soon, for when the sénéchal perceived this large body so well mounted, he sounded a retreat, and the horses then knew the effect of spurs : very opportunely did these lords find the barriers open.

They were, however, so closely followed, that sir Richard de Marqueillies, sir Louis de Vertaing, Honard de la Honarderie, Vital de St. Hilaire, with ten other men at arms, remained prisoners to the English : the others escaped. When the English learnt, that the sénéchal of Hainault, the lord de Hamireth, the lord de Clery, with twenty other knights, had escaped, they cried out,—‘ God ! what a fortunate event would it have been, if we had taken them, for they would have paid us forty thousand francs.’ They returned to the army, and nothing more was done that day.

The army remained for three days at Clery sur Somme, and in that neighbourhood. On the fourth, they marched away, and came to the abbey of Vaucelle*, three leagues from Cambray, and the next day nearer St. Quentin. This day, about

* Vaucelle,—on the Scheld, near to Crevecœur.

thirty spears attached to the duke of Burgundy had set out from Arras for St. Quentin. Sir Thomas Trivet, sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Delawarr, and several others who had been from the van-guard with the foragers, as they were about to fix on their quarters, fell in with these Burgundians, when a battle ensued: but it did not last long, for the Burgundians were soon dispersed, one here, another there, and all tried to save themselves as well as they could. Sir John de Mornay, however, stood his ground in good order, with his pennon before him, and fought valiantly, but at last was taken, and ten men of his company. The English then marched to Foursons, two leagues from Amiens, where the van-guard quartered itself.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE ENGLISH BURN AND DESPOIL CHAMPAGNE.—
THEY MEET WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES ON.
THEIR MARCH, AND MAKE MANY PRISONERS.

ON the ensuing morning, when the earl of Buckingham and his army had heard mass, they began their march towards St. Quentin; in which town there were numbers of men at arms, but they did not sally forth. Some of the light troops galloped up to the barriers, and soon returned; for the army continued its march, without halting, until

until it arrived at Origny St. Benoist* and the adjacent villages. In the town of Origny, there was a handsome nunnery, the abbess of which at that time happened to be aunt-in-law to the lord De lawarr, at whose entreaty the nunnery and the whole town were respited from being burnt and pillaged: the earl was lodged in the abbey. That evening and the following morning, there were many skirmishes at Ribemont, which was hard by, when several were slain and wounded on each side.

In the morning, the army dislodged from Origny, came to Crecy, and passed Vaux below Laon, fixing their quarters at Sissonne†. The next day, they crossed the river Aisne at Pont à Vaire, and came to Hermonville and Coumiffy, four leagues from Rheims, without meeting with any forage on their march.

Every thing had been driven or carried into the towns and strong places, the king of France having abandoned to his own men at arms whatever they could find in the open country: the English, therefore, suffered great distress for want of food. They determined to send a herald to Rheims, to open a treaty with the inhabitants, for them to send provisions to the army, such as cattle, bread and wine.

The inhabitants refused to enter into any negotiation, and, in their reply, said, they must make the best of it. This answer so much enraged them

* Origny St. Benoîte,—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, three leagues from St. Quentin.

† Sissonne,—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

that, in one week, the light troops burnt upwards of sixty villages dependant on Rheims. The English heard that the people of Rheims had secured six thousand sheep in the ditches of the town, thinking them safe there: the van-guard advanced thither, and made their men descend into the ditches and drive out the sheep, without any one daring to issue from the town to prevent them, or even appearing on the bulwarks; for the archers, being posted on the banks of the ditch, shot so sharply that no one ventured to shew himself: the English gained several thousand head of sheep. They sent to inform the townsmen, they would burn all the corn in the fields, unless they ransomed it by sending them bread and wine. The inhabitants were frightened by this threat, and sent the army from ten to sixteen loads of bread and wine: by this means, the corn and oats were saved from being burnt. The English marched by Rheims in order of battle to Beaumont sur Vesle*, for they had crossed the river below Rheims. On their departure from Beaumont, the English rode along the river Marne, to seek a passage, and came to Condé sur Marne, where they found the bridge broken down; but, as the supporters still remained, they fought for planks and beams, with which they rebuilt the bridge, crossed the river, and quartered themselves in the villages above Marne; and, on the ensuing day, they came before the town of

* Beaumont sur Vesle,—near Rheims.

Vertus*, when there was a grand skirmish in front of the castle, in which many were wounded.

The earl of Buckingham was lodged in the abbey. During the night, the town was burnt, except the abbey, which, from the earl lodging in it, was saved; otherwise it would infallibly have suffered the same fate, for the townsmen had retreated into the castle, and would not ransom it. The army marched off the following day, and passed by the castle of Moymer, which is the inheritance of the lord de Chastillon. The skirmishers advanced to the barriers, and then passed on and took up their quarters for the night at Pelange, making for the city of Troyes, and the next day at Plancy sur Aube†. The lord de Chateauneuf and John de Chateauneuf his brother, with Remond St. Marfin, Gascons, and some English, about forty spears in the whole, rode from the army to seek adventures, but met with none, which vexed them much. On their return, they saw in the plain a body of men at arms riding towards Troyes: it was the lord de Hangest and his men: the English and Gascons immediately spurred their horses to come up with them. The lord de Hangest had well observed them, and, doubting they were in greater numbers than they appeared, said to his men; ' Make for Plancy, and save yourselves; for

* Vertus,—a town in Champagne, twelve leagues from Rheims.

† Plancy sur Aube,—near Troyes.

these

these English have discovered us, and their main army is not far off: let us put ourselves in safety in the castle of Plancy.' They rode in that direction, and the English after them.

There was a valiant man at arms from Hainault in the troop of the lord Delawarr, called Peter Berton, who fixing his lance in its rest, and being well mounted, came up with the lord de Hangeſt, who was flying before him, and gave him such a blow on the back with his lance that he almost drove him out of the saddle; but the lord de Hangeſt neither lost his seat nor stirrups, though Peter Berton kept the iron hard at his back; and in this manner did they arrive at Plancy.

Straight at the entrance of the castle the lord de Hangeſt leaped from his horse, and got into the ditch. Those within it were anxious to save him, and ran to the barriers, where there was a grand skirmish; for the garrison kept shooting briskly, being very good croſs-bowmen; and several valiant deeds were done on each ſide. With great difficulty the lord de Hangeſt was ſaved. He fought gallantly on entering the castle; for reinforcements from the van-guard were continually arriving. The lord Delawarr, ſir Thomas Trivet, ſir Hugh Calverley, came thither, and the conflict was great: there were upwards of thirty of the French killed and wounded, and the lower court of the castle burnt. The castle itſelf was warmly attacked on all ſides, but well defended: the mills of Plancy were burnt and destroyed. The whole army then retired,

retired, passed the river Aube at Pont à l'Ange, and marched towards Valant sur Seine. The lord de Hangest had a very narrow escape.

This same day, the captains of the van-guard, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Hugh Calverley, the lord De lawarr, the bastard his brother, Peter Berton and many others, made an excursion from the army, and met sir John de Roye, with about twenty spears of the duke of Burgundy who were going to Troyes. The English, on seeing them, spurred their horses; for the French were making off, as not in sufficient numbers to wait for them. The greater part did escape; and sir John de Roye, with others, got within the barriers of Troyes, which at the time chanced to be open. On their return, they captured four of his men who could not save themselves: among whom was a squire to the duke of Burgundy, called Guion Goufer, an expert man at arms. His horse was much heated, so that he had dismounted, and, having placed himself against a walnut tree, fought valiantly two Englishmen, who pressed him hard, crying out to him in English to surrender; but he understood them not. Fierabras, on his return from the pursuit, arriving at the spot, said to the squire in French, 'Surrender thyself.' On hearing this, he replied, 'Art thou a gentleman?' The bastard rejoined, he was. 'I then surrender myself to thee,' presenting him his sword and gauntlet; for which the English would have killed him when he was in the bastard's hands, and they told him he was not very courteous thus to carry from them their prisoner, but the bastard was stronger

stronger than them. Nevertheless this affair was, in the evening, brought before the marshals, who, having well considered it, determined he should remain to the bastard, who that evening ransomed him, taking his word for the payment, and sent him on the morrow to Troyes. The whole army were quartered at Valant sur Seine, and the next day, crossing the Seine at a ford, came to a village one league from Troyes, called Bernare-Saint-Simple, where the lords and captains held many councils.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE ENGLISH COME BEFORE TROYES.—A SKIRMISH
AT ONE OF THE GATES.—THEY TAKE A FORT
WHICH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HAD ERECTED
ON THE OUTSIDE.—KING CHARLES PRACTISES
WITH THE INHABITANTS OF NANTES.

THE duke of Burgundy was in the city of Troyes, and had fixed on that place for the rendezvous of his forces. His intentions were to fight the English between the rivers Seine and Yonne ; and the barons, knights and squires of France did not wish for any thing better ; but Charles of France, doubtful of the fortune of the war, would not give his permission so to do. He recollects too well the great losses his nobles had formerly suffered from the victories of the English, and would never allow

allow them to fight unless the advantages were very considerable on their side. There were with the duke of Burgundy, in Troyes, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Bar, the count d'Eu, the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, the lord de Vienne and de Sainte Croix, sir James de Vienne, sir Walter de Vienne, the lord de la Tremouille, the lord de Vergy, the lord de Rougemont, the lord de Hambue, the fénéchal of Hainault, the lord de Saimpi, the baron des Barres, the lord de Roye, the viscount d'Affi, sir William bastard de Langres, with upwards of two thousand knights and squires. I was informed, that the lord de la Tremouille was sent by the duke and the other lords to Paris, to entreat the king to allow them to fight; and he was not returned at the time the English came before Troyes.

The lords of France, doubting the English would not pass by without coming to look at them, had erected, about a bow-shot from the gates of Troyes, a large redoubt of great beams of timber, which might hold about a thousand men at arms: it was made of good strong wood, and well built.

All the captains of the english army were summoned to a council, to consider in what manner they should act the ensuing day. It was resolved, that all the lords and knights should march, fully armed with their banners and pennons displayed, before Troyes: they were to draw up in the plain, and to send their heralds to offer battle to those in the town.

They armed themselves, therefore, on the morrow,

row, and, being formed in three battalions, advanced into the plain before Troyes, where they halted. The two heralds, Gloucester and Aquitaine, were called, when the earl of Buckingham said to them ; ‘ You will go to Troyes, and tell the lords within the city, that we are come from England in search of deeds of arms : wherever we think they can be found, there we shall demand them : and, because we know that a part of the lillies and chivalry of France repose in the town of Troyes, we have purposely come this road. If they wish to say any thing to us, they will find us in the open plain in the form and manner in which you shall leave us, and in suchwise as we ought to meet our enemies.’

The heralds replied, ‘ My lord, we shall obey your commands.’

They then set off, and rode to Troyes. The entrance of the redoubt was opened to them, where they stopped ; for they could not get to the gate of the town from the numbers of men at arms and crofs-bowmen issuing forth, and drawing up before this redoubt. The two heralds wore the emblazoned arms of the earl of Buckingham : they were asked by the lords, what they wanted : they answered, they wished, if it were possible, to speak with the duke of Burgundy.

During the time the heralds were endeavouring to deliver their message to the duke of Burgundy, the English were arranging their battalions ; for they looked on a battle as certain. All who were desirous of knighthood were called : first came sir Thomas Trivet, with his banner rolled up, to the earl

earl of Buckingham, and said; ‘ My lord, if you please, I will this day display my banner; for, thanks to God, I have a sufficient revenue to support the state which a banner requires.’ ‘ It is highly pleasing to us,’ replied the earl: then, taking the banner by the staff, he gave it back into his hands, saying, ‘ Sir Thomas, God grant you may shew your valour here, and every where else.’ Sir Thomas took his banner, and, having displayed it, gave it to one of his squires in whom he had great confidence, and went to the van-guard; for he was there stationed by orders from the lord Latimer and the lord Fitzwalter, captain and constable.

The earl then created the following knights: sir Peter Berton, sir John and sir Thomas Paulet, sir John Stingulie, sir Thomas Dortingues, sir John Vassocoq, sir John Brasie, sir John Brauine, sir Henry Vernier, sir John Colville, sir William Everat, sir Nicholas Stingulie and sir Hugh de Lunit. They advanced to the van battalion, in order to have their share of the first blows.

A very gallant squire from the country of Savoy was then called, who had before been requested to be made a knight at St. Omer and at Ardres: his name was Ralp de Gruyeres, son to the count de Gruyeres: when the earl said to him, ‘ We shall to-day, if it please God, have an engagement, and I will make you a knight.’ The squire excused himself, saying, ‘ God give you all the good and honour you wish me; but I will never be a knight until my natural lord, the earl of Savoy, shall confer

confer it upon me in battle.' He was not pressed farther on this subject.

It was a pleasure to observe the order of battle in which the English were drawn up; and the French were busy in strengthening their forts, for they concluded that at least there would be some skirmishes, and that such warriors as the English would not depart without a nearer examination of them.

The French formed themselves handsomely; and the duke of Burgundy was abroad, with his battle-axe in his hand, armed from head to foot: he passed in review all the knights and squires as they marched to the fort; and the crowd was so great, there was not any passing, nor could the heralds arrive as far as the duke to deliver the message with which they had been charged.

To the words which the earl of Buckingham had delivered to the heralds, Gloucester and Aquitaine, others were added; for, on the evening when the lords had held their council, they told the heralds; ' You will carry this message, and tell the duke of Burgundy, that the duke and country of Brittany in conjunction have sent to the king of England, for support and aid against certain knights and barons of Brittany in rebellion against the said duke, whom they refuse to obey as their lord, as the better disposed part of the country do, but carry on war, in which they are supported by the king of France. On this account, the king of England is resolved to assist the duke and the country, and has ordered his fair uncle the earl of Buckingham, with

with a large body of men at arms, to march to Brittany for this purpose. They landed at Calais, and, having marched through the kingdom of France, are now so much in the heart of it as to be arrived before the city of Troyes, wherein they know are great numbers of the nobility: in particular, the duke of Burgundy, son of the late king of France and brother to the king now on the throne: therefore, the lord Thomas of Buckingham, son to the late king of England, demands a battle.'

The heralds requested to have this put down in writing, which they were promised to have on the morrow; but, when they again asked for it, they had changed their opinions, and no letters were given: but they were told to go, and say what they had heard, as they were of sufficient credit; 'and, if they choose, they will believe you.'

The heralds could not approach near enough to the duke to deliver their message, nor obtain any answer.

The young English knights had already begun to skirmish, which had troubled every thing, and some French knights and men at arms said to the heralds, 'Gentlemen, you are in a hazardous situation, for the common people of this town are very wicked.'

This hint made them return without doing any thing. We will now relate the beginning of the skirmish. In the first place, there was an English squire, a native of the bishoprick of Lincoln, who was an excellent man at arms, and there gave proofs of his courage. I know not if he had made any vow; but with his lance in its rest, his target

on

on his neck; he spurred his horse; and, riding full-gallop down the causeway, he made him leap over the bars of the barriers, and came to the gate where the duke was, surrounded by the french nobility, who looked on this enterprize with amazement. The squire intended returning; but he was prevented by his horse receiving a blow from a spear, which felled him and killed the squire. It much angered the duke that he had not been made prisoner.

Instantly the battalions of the earl of Buckingham advanced on foot, to the attack of the men at arms in the wooden redoubt, which had been formed of shutters, doors and tables, and was not, to say the truth, fit to hold out against such men at arms as the English*.

When the duke of Burgundy saw them advance in such numbers, and with so much spirit, that the lords, barons and knights in this fort were not in force to withstand them, he directly ordered them to retreat into the town, excepting the crossbowmen. They retired, by little and little, to the gate; and, as they were entering it, the genoese crossbowmen shot and wounded the English. There was a good and sharp skirmish: the redoubt was soon conquered, but it did not long remain to the English. All sorts of people came in great strength to the gates; and, as they passed, they drew up on the causeways. The duke of Lorraine was there

* This contradicts his prior account of the redoubt.

handsomely

handsomely disposed ; as were the lord de Coucy, the duke of Bourbon and others. Between this gate and the bars, many valorous deeds were done, and of course numbers slain, wounded and taken.

The English, seeing the French retreat, retreated also in excellent order, and formed themselves on the plain, in battle-array, for upwards of two hours ; when, towards evening, they retired to their quarters.

The next day, the army marched to Maillerois-le-Vicomte, near Sens in Burgundy, where they halted for two days, to refresh themselves and to gather provision from the low countries, of which they were in the greatest want.

You have heard how the English marched through France, and thus took the road to Brittany. They publicly declared the duke and country of Brittany had sent for them, and that they had not any pretence for waging war in the name of the king of England their lord, but that they were then in the pay of the duke of Brittany.

King Charles was at the time fully informed of all these matters, and, like a wise and prudent man as he was, examined well all the perils and incidents which might arise from them. He considered, that if Brittany joined these English against him, the fortune of war would be more doubtful ; and, as he was ill with the duke, if the principal towns were to open their gates to his enemies, it would turn out very much to his prejudice. He therefore sent, secretly, letters sealed, but written in the most gracious manner, to the inhabitants of Nantes (which

is the key to all the other towns in Brittany), to request they would consider that the English, who were marching through his kingdom, boasted they were sent for by them, and declared themselves to be their soldiers ; and that in case they had thus engaged them, and would persevere in this evil act, they would incur the malediction of their holy father the pope; according to the sentence he had passed, as well as the penalty of two hundred thousand florins, which he could legally demand from them, and which they had bound themselves to pay, according to treaties sealed which had formerly passed between them, and of which he had copies, as they could not be ignorant : that he had ever been their friend, and had assisted them in all their necessities ; and that by persisting in this matter they would be very much to blame, for they had not any well-grounded complaint against him to induce them to enter so warmly into the war as to receive his enemies. He therefore recommended them maturely to reconsider this ; and, if they had been wickedly or ill advised, he would frankly forgive it, provided they did not open their gates to his enemies the English, and would maintain them in all just rights and privileges, and even renew them, should there be occasion.

When these letters and offers from the king of France had been read by the men of Nantes and considered, the principal persons among them said, the king of France was in the right, and had cause for remonstrating with them as he had done ; that in truth they had sworn and sealed never to be enemies

enemies themselves to the kingdom of France, nor to give any assistance to its enemies. They began, therefore, to be on their guard, and sent privately to the king of France not to be uneasy on this head, as they would never aid or succour the English in their attempts to injure the kingdom of France by force, nor would their town afford them any assistance ; for they were determined, if there should be any necessity, to claim the help of the king, and that to his army alone would they open their gates, and to none else.

The king of France, having received their messenger, put confidence in their declarations, for Nantes was ever attached to the French interest : of all this, however, the duke, who resided at Vannes, was ignorant : he thought, nevertheless, that the inhabitants of Nantes would remain steady to him, and that they would open their gates to the English when they should come thither.

We will now return to the English who were quartered near to Sens in Burgundy ; in which city the duke of Bar, the lord de Coucy, the lord de Sainpi, the lord de Fransures, were in garrison with their troops.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE ENGLISH OVERRUN THE COUNTRIES OF
GATINOIS AND BEAUCE.—A FRENCH SQUIRE
DEMANDS TO TILT WITH AN ENGLISH SQUIRE:
THEY BOTH BEHAVE VERY GALLANTLY.

WHEN the earl of Buckingham and his army had repos'd themselves at Maillerois-le-Vicomte, they determined to advance into the Gatinois: they crossed, in consequence, the river Yonne, and their light troops went even to the suburbs of Sens. They next day they quartered themselves at St. Jean de Nemours and thereabouts, and afterwards at Beaune in Gatinois, where they remained three days, on account of its fertile and rich country. There they held a council, whether to follow the road into the plains of Beauce, or keep to the course of the river Loire: they resolved on the first, and marched towards Toury in Beauce. In this castle were the lord de Saimpi, sir Oliver de Mauny, sir Guy le Baveux and numbers of men at arms.

There were besides, at Geneville in Beauce, the lord de Volainnes, le Barrois des Barres, with others to the amount of three hundred spears; and in all the castles and fortresses of Beauce were posted men at arms to defend the country.

Those of the van-guard skirmished with the garrison

rison of Toury, when there were some slain on both sides. The earl of Buckingham and his whole army were quartered at Toury in Beauce, and in the environs, where they found plenty of provisions. During the skirmish at Toury, a squire from Beauce, a gentleman of tried courage, who had advanced himself by his own merit, without any assistance from others, came to the barriers, and cried out to the English; ‘Is there among you any gentleman who for love of his lady is willing to try with me somefeat of arms? If there should be any such, here I am, quite ready to fall forth completely armed and mounted, to tilt three courses with the lance, to give three blows with the battle-axe, and three strokes with the dagger. Now look, you English, if there be none among you in love.’

This squire’s name was Gauvain Micaille. His proposal and request was soon spread among the English, when a squire, an expert man at tournaments, called Joachim Cator, stepped forth and said, ‘I will deliver him from his vow: let him make haste and come out of the castle.’ Upon this, the lord Fitzwalter, marshal of the army, went up to the barriers, and said to sir Guy le Baveux, ‘Let your squire come forth: he has found one who will cheerfully deliver him; and we will afford him every security.’

Gauvain Micaille was much rejoiced on hearing these words. He immediately armed himself, in which the lords assisted, in the putting on the different pieces, and mounted him on a horse, which they gave to him. Attended by two others, he

came out of the castle ; and his varlets carried three lances, three battle-axes and three daggers. He was much looked at by the English, for they did not think any Frenchman would have engaged body to body. There were besides to be three strokes with a sword, and with all other sorts of arms. Gauvain had had three brought with him for fear any should break.

The earl of Buckingham, hearing of this combat, said he would see it, and mounted his horse, attended by the earls of Stafford and Devonshire. On this account, the assault on Toury ceased. The Englishman that was to tilt was brought forward, completely armed and mounted on a good horse. When they had taken their stations, they gave to each of them a spear, and the tilt began ; but neither of them struck the other, from the mettlesomeness of their horses. They hit the second onset, but it was by darting their spears ; on which the earl of Buckingham cried out, 'Hola, hola ! it is now late.' He then said to the constable ; 'Put an end to it, for they have done enough this day : we will make them finish it when we have more leisure than we have at this moment, and take great care that as much attention is paid to the french squire as to our own ; and order some one to tell those of the castle, not to be uneasy about him, for we shall carry him with us to complete his enterprize, but not as a prisoner ; and that when he shall have been delivered, if he escape with his life, we will send him back in all safety.'

These

These orders of the earl were obeyed by the marshal, who said to the french squire, ' You shall accompany us without any danger, and when it shall be agreeable to my lord you will be delivered.' Gauvain replied, ' God help me ! ' A herald was sent to the castle, to repeat to the governor the words you have heard.

The following day, they marched towards Geneville in Beauce, always in expectation of having an engagement with the enemy ; for they well knew they were followed and watched by the French, in greater numbers than themselves. True it is, that the french dukes, counts, barons, knights and squires eagerly wished for a battle, and said among themselves, that it was very blameable and foolish not to permit them to engage, and suffer the enemy thus to slip through their hands. But, when it was mentioned to the king, he replied, ' Let them alone : they will destroy themselves.'

The English continued their march, with the intent to enter Brittany.

You before heard, that there were three hundred spears in Geneville, so the whole army passed by it. There was indeed at the barriers some little skirmishing, which lasted not long, as it was time thrown away. Without Geneville a handsome mill was destroyed. The earl came to Yterville*, and dismounted at the house of the Templars. The van-guard went forwards to Puiset†, where they heard that sixty companions had posted themselves

* † Probably Interville,—Puisé,—near Janville in Beauce.

in a large tower: they marched to the attack, for it was situated in the open plain without any bulwarks. The assault was sharp, but did not last long, for the archers shot so briskly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the battlements: the tower was taken, and those within slain or made prisoners. The English then set fire to it, and marched on, for they were in the utmost distress for water.

From thence they went to Ermoyon, where they quartered themselves, and then to the forest of Marchenoir. In this forest there is a monastery of monks, of the cisterian order, which is called the Cistertian Abbey, and has several handsome and noble edifices, where formerly a most renowned and noble knight, the count de Blois, received great edification, and bequeathed to it large revenues; but the wars had greatly diminished them. The earl of Buckingham lodged in this abbey, and heard mass there on the feast of our Lady in September. It was there ordered, that Gauvain Micaillé and Joachim Cator should on the morrow complete their enterprize. That day the English came to Marchenoir*: the governor was a knight of that country, called sir William de St. Martin, a prudent and valiant man at arms. The English, after having reconnoitred the castle, retired to their quarters. In another part, the lord Fitzwalter came before the castle of Verbi, not to at-

* Marchenoir,—a town in Beauce, election of Châteaudun. Near this town is a forest of 4230 arpents.—GAZETTEER.

tack it, but to speak with the governor at the barriers, with whom he was well acquainted, having been together formerly in Prussia. The lord Fitzwalter made himself known to the lord de Verbi, and entreated him, out of courtesy, to send him some wine, and in return he would prevent his estate from being burnt or spoiled. The lord de Verbi sent him a large quantity, and thirty great loaves with it ; for which the lord Fitzwalter was very thankful, and kept his promise.

On the day of the feast of our Lady, Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator were armed, and mounted to finish their engagement. They met each other roughly with spears, and the french squire tilted much to the satisfaction of the earl : but the Englishman kept his spear too low, and at last struck it into the thigh of the Frenchman. The earl of Buckingham as well as the other lords were much enraged at this, and said it was tilting dishonourably ; but he excused himself, by declaring it was solely owing to the restiveness of his horse. Then were given the three thrusts with the sword ; and the earl declared they had done enough, and would not have it longer continued, for he perceived the french squire bled exceedingly : the other lords were of the same opinion. Gauvain Micaille was therefore disarmed, and his wound dressed. The earl sent him one hundred francs by a herald, with leave to return to his own garrison in safety, adding that he had acquitted himself much to his satisfaction..

Gauvain Micaille went back to the lords of France :

France: and the English departed from Marchenoir, taking the road to Vendôme; but, before they arrived there, they quartered themselves in the forest of Coulombiers.

CHAP. XXXIX.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS TAKEN ILL.—HIS LAST WORDS ON HIS DEATH-BED.

YOU have heard what secret intrigues the king of France was carrying on with the principal towns in Brittany, to prevent them from admitting the English, menacing those who should do so that they should never be forgiven. The inhabitants of Nantes sent him word not to be alarmed; for they would never consent to admit them, whatever treaties had been entered into with their lord: but they were desirous, if the English should approach, that some men at arms might be sent, to defend the town and the inhabitants against their enemies.

The king of France was well inclined to this, and charged his council to see it executed. The main spring of all these treaties was sir John de Bueil, on the part of the duke of Anjou, who resided at Angers. The duke of Burgundy was quartered in the city of Mans, and in that country. Other lords, such as the duke of Bourbon, the count de Bar, the lord de Coucy, the count d'Eu, the duke of Lorraine were in the neighbouring castles

castles and forts, with a force of upwards of six thousand men at arms: they said among themselves, that whether the king willed it or not, they would combat the English before they crossed the river Sarte, which divides Maine from Anjou.

The king of France was at this moment seized with an illness, which much disheartened all who loved him; for, as no remedy could be found for it, they foresaw that in a very short time he must depart this life: indeed, he himself knew this, as well as his surgeons and physicians. The reports were firmly believed, that the king of Navarre, during the time he resided in Normandy, had attempted to poison him, and that the king was so much infected by the venom that the hairs of his head and the nails of his hands and feet fell off, and he became as dry as a stick, for which they could not discover any remedy. His uncle, the emperor, hearing of his illness, sent to him his own physician, the most able man of that time, and of the greatest learning then known in the world, as his works indeed shew: he was called a second Aristotle, but his name was George of Prague. When this great doctor came to visit the king, who at that time was duke of Normandy, he knew his disorder, and declared, that having been poisoned, he was in danger of dying: however, he performed the greatest cure known, by so weakening the force of the poison that he caused him to regain his former strength.

This poison ouzed out in small quantities from an issue in his arm. On the departure of the doctor,

doctor, for they could not detain him, he prescribed a medicine that was to be made use of constantly. He told the king and his attendants, that whenever this issue should dry up, he would infallibly die ; but that he would have fifteen days or more to settle his affairs, and attend to his soul.

The king of France well remembered these words, and had had this issue for twenty-two years, which at times alarmed him much. Those in whom he put great confidence, in regard to his health, were able physicians, who comforted him, and kept up his spirits, by saying that, with the excellent medicines they had, they would make him live long in joy and happiness, so that he had great faith in them. The king had, besides other disorders that afflicted him much, the tooth-ache : from this he suffered the greatest torment ; and his majesty knew, from all these symptoms, he could not live very long : but the greatest comfort, towards the end of his days, was in God for having given him three fine children, two sons and a daughter, Charles, Louis and Catherine.

When this issue began to cease running, the fears of death came upon him : he therefore, like a wise and prudent man, began to look to his affairs. He sent for his three brothers, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Bourbon*, without noticing his next brother, the duke of Anjou, whom he did not send for, because he knew him to be very avaricious. When they

* Duke of Bourbon—was brother to the late queen.

were

were arrived, he said to them ; ‘ My dear brothers, I feel I have not long to live : I therefore recommend to your charge my son Charles, to take that care of him that good uncles ought to do of their nephew, by which you will loyally acquit yourselves. Have him crowned king as soon as you possibly can after my decease, and advise him justly in all his affairs. My whole confidence rests in you : the child is young, and, being of an unsteady temper, will want to be well managed and properly instructed in sound learning. Teach him, or have him taught, every point relative to royalty, and the manner in which he should, according to the situations he may be in, conduct himself. Marry him to such a princess of high birth that the kingdom may gain by it. I have had with me for a considerable time a learned astronomer*, who has predicted that in his youth he will have much to do, and escape from great perils and dangers. Having thought much on these expressions, I have considered that the events alluded to must have their origin in Flanders ; for, thanks to God, the affairs of my kingdom are in a very good condition. The duke of Brittany is very deceitful and foward, and has always had more of english than french courage ; for which reason, you must keep the nobles and principal towns of that country in good af-

* Thomas de Pisan. For particulars of him and of his daughter, see Moreri’s dictionary, and vol. xvii. of the *Memoires de l’Academie*.

fection to you, in order to traverse his designs. I have every cause to praise the Bretons, for they have served me faithfully in the defence of my kingdom against its enemies. You will make the lord de Clisson constable: every thing considered, I know no one so proper for that office. Seek out, in Germany, an alliance for my son, that our connections there may be strengthened. You have heard our adversary is about to marry from thence, to increase his allies. The poor people of my realm are much harassed and tormented by taxes and subsidies: take them off as speedily as you can, for they are things which, notwithstanding I proposed them, weigh very heavy on my mind: but the great undertakings we have had to maintain in every part of the kingdom forced me submit to them.' Many more kind words did king Charles utter, but I have not thought it requisite to cite them all. The king explained why the duke of Anjou was absent; for he suspected him much, knowing him to be of an ambitious temper. Notwithstanding the king of France did not permit him to attend his death-bed, nor to have any part in the government of France, this duke did not keep at a very great distance: he had besides messengers continually going between Paris and Angers, who brought him exact accounts of the state of his brother's health. He had also some about the king's person, who informed him secretly what daily passed; and the last day, when the king of France departed this life, he was at Paris, and so near to the king's chamber

chamber that he heard all the discourse I have just related. But we will now follow the English in their march to Brittany.

CHAP. XL.

THE LORD DE HANGEST IS NEAR TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.—THE LORD DE MAUVOISIN REMAINS THEIR PRISONER.—THE ENGLISH CROSS THE RIVER SARTE IN DISORDER.

WHEN the earl of Buckingham quitted the forest of Marchenoir with his army, he took the road towards Vendôme and the forest of Coulembiers. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Clinton were somewhat advanced, with forty spears, and by accident met the lord de Hangest, who was returning from Vendôme, accompanied by thirty lances. The English soon saw they were French, and eagerly galloped towards them. The French, who found they were not in equal numbers, had no wish to wait for them, nor to fight, for they were near to Vendôme : they made, therefore, for that place, the English pursuing them. Sir Robert de Hangest, cousin to the lord of that name, was slain, and John de Môndecris with five or six others were made prisoners. The lord de Hangest came so opportunely to the barrier that he found it open. Having fixed his lance, he put himself in a gallant posture of defence : the rest of his companions did

so

so as they came up: however, twelve remained prisoners.

Sir Robert Knolles had also this day made an excursion from the army: he met the lord de Mauvoisin, who defended himself valiantly, but was in the end made prisoner by sir Robert himself. This day the army marched by Vendôme to Auffie, and on the morrow to St. Calais*, where they halted for two days, and then came to Pont-valin†.

The English thus advanced, without meeting any to oppose them: but the whole country was full of men at arms, and numbers were in the city of Mans. At this period, the duke of Anjou passed through Tours, Blois and Orleans, in his way to Paris; for he had heard his brother was in so dangerous a state that there were not any hopes of his recovery, and he was anxious to be with him at his decease. Notwithstanding this illness of the king, from which he was never expected to recover, the men at arms did not desist from pursuing and watching the English on their march: the commanders ordered their men to harasf them as much as they could, and to attempt if possible to surround them, which would prevent them from having any provision; and then they would engage with them at their will, whether the king of France gave permission or not.

In consequence, the lords of France had brought

* St. Calais,—a town in Maine, six leagues from Vendôme.

† Pontvalin,—a town in Anjou.

to that part of the Sarte which the English were to pass, large beams which they had fixed across the river with sharp stakes, so that they would not be able to cross it. On the banks, they dug very wide and deep ditches, to prevent their descending to the river, or ascending from it.

The earl of Buckingham marched from Pont-valin with his army to the Sarte, where he halted; for they could not find a ford, as the river was swelled and deep, and difficult to cross except in certain places. The van-guard marched up and down, but could not discover any other ford but where the beams of timber and stakes had been fixed.

The lords dismounted, and, observing the ford, said, 'It is here we must pass, if we mean to march further: come, let us be active, and drag these beams out of our way.' You would have seen, after this speech, knights, barons and squires enter the river, and labour most heartily before they could succeed: at last, they gained their point, but with much difficulty, and, having cleared away all obstacles, opened a passage. Had the French been watchful enough, they might have done them much harm; for those who crossed first could not assist those that followed, on account of the deep marshes they had to go through. The English took such pains, that they did pass them, and arrived at Noyon sur Sarte.

CHAP. XLI.

THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, KING OF
FRANCE.

THAT same day on which the English crossed the Sarte with so much difficulty, Charles, king of France, departed this life, in his hôtel at Paris called the hôtel de St. Pol*. No sooner did his brother, the duke of Anjou, know that the king's eyes were closed than he seized all the jewels of the king, which were very valuable, and had them secured in a safe place, flattering himself they would be of the utmost use to him in the intended war and journey he was about to make; for he already signed himself king of Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria and Jerusalem.

The king of France was carried through the city of Paris to the abbey of St. Denis, with his face uncovered, followed by his brothers and his two sons, where he was most honourably interred. He had given orders respecting his burial during his

* King Charles died Sunday the 16th September 1380, at his château of Beauté sur Marne. On the Monday, his body was carried early to St. Anthony, hard by Paris, to wait the arrival of his brothers. It remained there until Monday 14th October, when it was borne to the church of notre Dame in Paris, and on the following day to St. Denis.—*Grands Chroniques de France.*

life-time;

life-time; and his constable, sir Bertrand du Gueclin, lies at his feet.

Notwithstanding the orders king Charles had given, before his death, respecting the government of the kingdom, they were totally disregarded; for the duke of Anjou immediately took possession, and over-ruled all the others. He was willing his nephew should be crowned king, but resolved to have the management of affairs as much, if not more, than any other, on account of his being the eldest uncle; and there were none in the kingdom who dared to dispute it with him.

The king of France died on the eve of Michaelmas: soon after his decease, the peers and barons of France recommended that the king should be crowned immediately after All-saints, at Rheims. The three uncles, Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, agreed to this proposal; but they insisted on governing the realm until the child should be of age, that is to say, twenty-one years*, which they made the great barons and prelates of France swear to observe. After this, the coronation of the young king was notified in foreign countries, to the duke of Brabant, duke Albert of Bavaria, the count de Savoye, the count de Blois, the duke de Gueldres,

* Froissart must mistake; for Charles V. enacted, the 21st May 1375, a law, that the heirs apparent should henceforward be of age to govern when fourteen years old. He, at the same time, ordered the duke of Anjou to have the government during the minority, and the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon to have the management of his son until he was 14 years of age.—*Grands Chroniques.*

the duke de Juliers, the count d'Armagnac, and to the count de Foix. The duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the lord de Coucy, the count dauphin of Auvergne, were pursuing the English: they were not, therefore, so soon sent to; but the count of Flanders was invited; and the day fixed was All-saints, which fell on a Sunday.

The men of Ghent were much grieved at the death of the king of France; for he had been very friendly to them during their war, loving but little the earl of Flanders.

We will now speak of the English, and then return to the coronation of the king of France.

CHAP. XLII.

THE ENGLISH ARRIVE IN BRITTANY.—THE DUKE EXCUSES HIMSELF FOR HAVING SO LONG DELAYED COMING TO MEET THEM.—THEY UNDERTAKE TOGETHER THE SIEGE OF NANTES.

THE English, having crossed the Sarte in great danger, were not ignorant of the death of the king of France. They were quartered at Noyon sur Sarte: from thence they marched to Poilli, two leagues from Sablé*. The whole strength of France was at that time in the city of Mans, and

* Sablé,—an ancient town in Maine on the Sarte, 29 leagues from Rennes.

in that part of the country, but they contented themselves with following the march of the English: some, however, said, they would combat them.

When intelligence of the king's death became public, the intentions of the French were frustrated; for many of the barons decamped, and returned to Paris, to learn what was going forward. The English continued for three days in their quarters: on the fourth day they departed, and came to St. Pierre d'Arne, and from thence to Argentie. The next day the army crossed the river Mayenne, and passed a marsh with much difficulty, for only two or three could march in front the whole of this road, which lasted upwards of two leagues. Now, consider what danger they were in; for if the French had known this, and attacked the van, the rear could not have assisted them: of this the English were greatly afraid: however, they passed in safety, and arrived at Cossé*, where they halted four days in constant expectation of having some intelligence from Brittany.

The duke of Brittany resided at Hennebon, in the district of Vannes: he had heard frequently of the English, and that they were near the frontiers of Brittany, but he did not know how to act. When he learnt the king of France's death, he took little notice of it, for he did not love him, but said to those near him; ' The rancour and hatred which I bore the kingdom of France, on account

* Cossé,—a town of Maine, election of Laval

of this king Charles, is now one-half diminished ; for those who hated the father may love the son, and those who have made war on the father may assist the son. It is necessary, however, for me to acquit myself to the English ; for, in truth, it has been at my request and solicitation they have marched through the kingdom of France, and I must keep the promises I have made them : but in this there is much difficulty, both in regard to them and me, as I wish our principal towns to shut their gates, and not allow them to enter within them.'

The duke then summoned some of his council, such as the lord de Montboursier, sir Stephen Guyon, sir William Tanneguy, sir Eustace de la Houssaye, sir Geoffry de Kerimel and the judge-asseffor of Léon, and said to them ; ' You will ride to my lord of Buckingham, who is approaching Brittany, and whom I believe you will find not far off : recommend me to him, and salute on my part all his barons. You will tell them, that I shall shortly be at Rennes to meet them ; to which place I wish they would direct their march ; when we will consider together on the best plans for our further proceedings. Tell them also, that I do not find my country in the same dispositions as when I sent to England, which vexes me much : that, in particular, I am hurt with the men of Nantes, who are more rebellious than any of the others.'

The knights replied, they would cheerfully
carry

carry this message. They took leave of the duke, and rode to Nantes: in the whole, they were about sixty spears.

The English having marched from Coffé, and entered the forest of la Gravelle, which they traversed, arrived at Vitré* in Brittany, where they felt themselves more secure than they had hitherto been, for they knew they should no longer be pursued by the French. From thence they went to Châteaubriant†, where they remained with the knights from the duke of Brittany, who met them at that place.

The earl of Buckingham and the barons of England received the knights from the duke of Brittany most honourably, and there were many councils and debates. The English said in plain terms, they were much astonished that neither the duke nor the country were better prepared, and shewed not any inclinations to receive them; for it was at their request they were come, and had suffered so many difficulties in their march through France.

The lord de Montboursier then said, in excuse of the duke; ‘ My lords, you have very good cause for having thus spoken, and the duke has a thorough good will to fulfil every article of the engagements which have been entered into between you both, to the utmost of his power; but

* Vitré,—a city of Brittany, on the Vilaine, diocese of Rennes.

† Châteaubriant,—a town of Brittany, on the confines of Anjou, diocese of Nantes.

he cannot act as he wishes : in particular, the inhabitants of Nantes, which is the key to Brittany, are in complete rebellion, and are ready to receive men at arms from France. This conduct has very much astonished my lord ; for it was that town which first entered into the alliance with the other chief towns in Brittany, and my lord believes that the men of Nantes have entered into a new treaty with the young king of France, who is to be crowned on All-saints day ensuing. My lord, therefore, begs and entreats you will hold him excused : he also desires that you will take the road to Rennes, whither he will come to meet you ; for he has a great desire to see you, and will not fail being there.'

These words much pleased the earl of Buckingham and the English : they declared, he could not say more. The messengers, returning to the duke towards Hennebon, met him at Vannes. The English continued four days at Châteaubriant, when they marched away to the suburbs of Rennes : the gates of the city were shut, and no man at arms was suffered to enter : the earl of Buckingham, however, was lodged in the town, as were the lord Latimer, sir Robert Knolles, and five or six other barons of the council to the earl. They remained there upwards of fifteen days, waiting in vain for the duke, who never came, which astonished them greatly.

The lord de Montereaulieu, the lord Montfort of Brittany, sir Geoffry de Kerimel, and sir Alain de la Houssaye, the governor of Rennes, were in the city,

city, as also sir Eustace, the governor's brother, who made daily excuses for the duke. I know not if they had a good cause to plead or not, but the English began to be very discontented with the duke for not coming.

Those of Nantes kept their gates well guarded; for they did not think themselves secure from the English, whom they knew to be at Rennes: they sent, therefore, to the duke of Anjou, who had been the origin of the late treaties, and by whom the greater part of the kingdom was governed, to remonstrate with him on their incapacity to defend themselves, if they should be besieged, without having a stronger body of men at arms: they therefore entreated him to provide them with a reinforcement. The four dukes who governed France, Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, complied with their request, and sent upwards of six hundred good and valorous men at arms. Thus was Nantes reinforced. Those men at arms immediately repaired every part of the walls, and put the town in a proper condition to resist a siege or an attack, if such should happen.

The English, quartered at Rennes and thereabouts, began to despise on account of the duke's not coming to them: they resolved, in a council, to send to know his reasons of delay. Lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet were ordered to wait on him, escorted by five hundred lances, to prevent or oppose any ambuscades which might be laid for them. These two barons departed from Rennes, attended by this body of lances,

lances, with as many archers, and took the road to Hennebon. They set out on a Thursday: the following Saturday, the earl marched the army to St. Sulpice in Brittany, where he halted three days; on the fourth, he marched to Combront, where he remained four days.

The duke of Brittany had left Hennebon, and was at Vannes: he had regular information of all the English were doing, and, after having well considered every thing, resolved to go to them; for his own honour, and the alliances he had formed with them, would not suffer him longer to delay it. Having learnt that sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet were coming to him, he began his journey to Rennes; and, the day that he set out from Vannes, he met the english knights. This meeting caused great joy: the duke of Brittany made inquiries after the earl of Buckingham, and the knights told him they had left him very melancholy at Rennes, because he had not any tidings of him. The duke excused himself by saying, that by his faith he could not help it. They then rode all together to Vannes, where they were well received; but they knew that the english army had marched from Combront to la Hédé and la Maistière, for they had followed that road.

The earl of Buckingham arrived at Vannes the next day, when great affection was shewn on both sides. The duke handsomely excused himself to the earl and the English for his delay in coming to them: the reason of it was, that he did not find his

his country determined to perform what they had promised him at the beginning of the summer.

The earl replied ; ‘ Fair brother of Brittany, it shall not be long, if you follow my advice, before you punish these rebels ; for, with the forces which you have yourself, and those we have brought; with the additional reinforcements that may arrive from England every day, we shall bring your subjects into such a state of submission that they will gladly throw themselves on your mercy.’ With these and suchlike speeches they conversed for a long time, when each retired to his hôtel. On the morrow, they rode out together : it was then settled that the council of the earl should attend the duke to Rennes, and finally make arrangements for their future proceedings. That evening the duke, with the earl’s council, remained at la Maisiere, and the earl returned to la Hedé, for they were all quartered in the environs of la Maisiere. The next day, the duke went to Rennes, accompanied by the lord Latimer, sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and others of the council of the earl.

They remained three days in consultation at Rennes : at last, it was determined, and sworn to, on the part of the duke of Brittany, on the holy Evangelists, that he would lay siege to Nantes, in company with the earl of Buckingham, and be there in person fifteen days after the English were arrived. The duke also engaged to send down the river Loire plenty of barges, the more to constrain those of Nantes, and would not himself quit the

the place, nor suffer his army to do so, before it should be conquered.

The earl of Buckingham was sent for to la Hedé, that all this business might be completely settled, and that he might be present at these councils. The army therefore dislodged, and took up their former quarters in the suburbs of Rennes. The earls and barons entered Rennes, when the earl gave them a most magnificent dinner. The duke of Brittany engaged, and swore by his faith solemnly on the holy Evangelists to come to Nantes with all his forces. After this, he returned to Hennebon. The English remained for upwards of fifteen days at Rennes, in making the necessary preparations.

The inhabitants of Nantes, being informed that the siege of their town was intended, took every precaution to defend themselves. One of the principal captains in Nantes was sir John le Barrois des Barres, a valiant and expert knight: there were with him the following captains; John de Clisson, John de Châtelmorant, Morfonace, sir John de Malatrait, the lord de Tournemine and several more, all the flower of the army. These leaders made very prudent and able defences, as well towards the river as at the gates, walls and towers which were opposite to the plain, and at those parts where they thought it probable an attack might be made.

We will now give these affairs a respite, and speak of the ceremonies of the coronation of the young king Charles, who at this period was crowned at Rheims.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES VI. OF
FRANCE.

AS you may well imagine, nothing was spared by the nobility and great lords to add to the magnificence of the coronation of the young king Charles of France, who was crowned at Rheims on a Sunday*, in the twelfth year of his age, in the year 1380. At this solemnity there were many high and mighty lords : his uncles of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, were present ; as were also his great uncles, Wincelaus† duke of Brabant, the duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the count de Savoye, the count de la Marche, the count d'Eu and sir William de Namur : but the earl of Flanders and the count de Blois sent excuses. There were several other lords whom I cannot name.

The young king made his entry into the city of Rheims on the Saturday, handsomely attended by the great lords, nobility and minstrels, at vespers. In particular, there were upwards of thirty trumpets, which preceded him, and sounded so clear it

* The 4th November 1380. He returned to Paris the 11th.
—*Grauds Chroniques.*

† Wincelaus, &c.—See annotation 9th by D. Sauvage.

was quite marvellous to hear them. The young king of France dismounted before the church of our Lady at Rheims, in company with his uncles and brother. There were also his cousins of Navarre, d'Albreth, of Bar and of Harcourt *, and a great many other young squires, children of the great barons of France, whom the king on the morrow, being the day of his coronation, created knights. This Saturday, the king heard vespers in the church of our Lady, and performed his vigils in that church, according to the custom of those times, the greater part of the night. All the youths desirous of knighthood attended him, and did the same.

On the Sunday, which was All-saints day, the church of our Lady was very richly decorated for the coronation; so much so that it could not possibly have been better ordered. The archbishop of Rheims, after having said mass with great solemnity, consecrated the king with the holy ampulla with which St. Remy had anointed Clovis, the first Christian king of the French. This sacred oil was sent from God by a holy angel, with which the kings of France have ever since been anointed, and it never diminishes. Now this must be considered as wonderfully miraculous.

Before the consecration, the king created, in front of the altar, all those young squires, knights: the office of mass was afterwards chaunted by the

* D. Sauvage says, the three first were his cousins by his mother's side; but he knows nothing of the fourth.

archbishop, the king being clothed in his ~~royal~~ robes, and seated on an elevated throne, adorned with cloth of gold ; and all the young knights were placed on low benches, covered also with the same, at his feet. In this state did they remain the whole day. The new constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, was present : he had been named constable a few days prior to this ceremony, and performed well his charge and every thing belonging to it. The principal barons of France were also there so richly dressed it would be tedious to relate : the king was seated in royal majesty, with a crown on his head rich and precious beyond measure.

The church of our Lady at Rheims was so much crowded during this ceremony that one could not turn one's foot. I have heard also, that at this accession of the young king to the throne, in order to please the people of France, all impositions, aids, taxes, subsidies and other levies, which had displeased and had much oppressed them, were abolished, greatly to the joy of the subject.

After mass, they went to the palace ; but, as the hall was too small for such numbers, they erected in the court of the palace a large covered stage, on which the dinner was served. The king was seated with his five uncles of Brabant, Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon ; but, though they were at his table, they were at a distance from him. The archbishop of Rheims and other prelates were on his right hand. He was served by the great barons, the lord de Coucy, the lord de Clisson, sir Guy de la Tremouille, the lord high admiral and several others, on handsome horses, covered and decorated with

with gold brocade. The whole day passed in ceremonies. On the morrow, many of the great barons took leave of the king and his uncles, and returned to their own country.

The king went that day to dinner at the abbey of St. Thierry, two leagues from Rheims; for those monks are bound to give him this entertainment, and the city of Rennes to provide for the coronation of the king. Thus ended this noble feast. He returned to Paris, where he was grandly feasted by the Parisians at his entrance.

After all these ceremonies, entertainments and honours, there were great councils holden on the present and future administration of the kingdom. It was settled that the duke of Berry should have the government of Languedoc; the duke of Burgundy, Picardy and Normandy; and that the duke of Anjou should remain near the king's person, and have, in fact, the whole government of the realm. The count de St. Pol was recalled, who had been banished from the favour of the late king Charles. He was indebted for this grace to Wenceslaus duke of Brabant, and to the duke of Anjou, in whose affection the count de St. Pol was. He immediately left Han sur Heure, situated in the bishoprick of Liege, where he had remained a long time, and returned to France, leaving his lady in the castle of Bouhaing. All the confiscations were taken off his estates, which reverted to his profit.

We will say no more on these subjects, but return to the affairs of Brittany and the earl of Buckingham.

TWO ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS,

WHICH ARE ONLY IN ONE OF MY MSS. AND
NOT IN ANY PRINTED COPY.

YOU have heard how sir Simon Burley, that gallant knight attached to the household of king Richard of England, had been sent with proposals to the emperor in Germany respecting the marriage of the lady Anne, his sister, with the king of England. He had transacted the business with ability, so that the emperor and his council consented; but he had brought with him, on his return, the duke of Saxony, one of the council of the emperor, for him to observe the state of England, and to make inquiries concerning the dower, and how it was to be settled on the queen. It is the custom in England for the queens to have a large estate, independent of the crown, which is always managed by her directions; and it is called the inheritance or dowry lands of the queen. This estate is worth twenty-five thousand nobles a-year; for I, John Froissart, author of this history, during my youth, served that queen of good memory, the lady Philippa of Hainault, to whom I was secretary; and I then heard from many lords, ladies and knights who had received the rents of these estates, their amount.

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The duke of Saxony was much pleased with all he saw and heard, particularly respecting the dower: he was well satisfied with the king, and his two uncles of Lancaster and Cambridge; for the other was in France; and also with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northumberland, and the other lords about the person of the king.

When the duke had remained some time in England, and finished the business he had come upon, he took leave of the king, promising to persevere in the marriage to the conclusion. At his departure, he received handsome presents of jewels for himself, for those attendant on the person of the emperor, and also for the ladies who had the management of the young lady, Anne of Bohemia, the intended future queen of England. The duke returned, well pleased, to his own country; but this business was not immediately concluded, for the damsels was young, and the councils of each party had many things to arrange: add to this, there shortly afterward happened in England great misery and tribulation, as you will hear recounted in this history.

[The remaining part of this chapter mentions the death of sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, nearly as it has been before related.]

THREE fell out about this time, in England, an event that gave great displeasure to the earl of Buckingham

Buckingham when he heard of it. I will explain to you what it was. Humphry earl of Hereford and Northampton, and constable of England, was one of the greatest lords and landholders in that country; for it was said, and I, the author of this book, heard it when I resided in England, that his revenue was valued at fifty thousand nobles a-year. From this earl of Heréford there remained only two daughters as his heireffes; Blanche the eldest, and Isabella* her sister. The eldest was married to Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham. The youngest was unmarried, and the earl of Buckingham would willingly have had her remain so, for then he would have enjoyed the whole of the earl of Hereford's fortune. Upon his marriage with Eleanor, he went to reside at his handsome castle of Pleshy, in the county of Essex, thirty miles from London, which he possessed in right of his wife. He took on himself the tutelage of his sister-in-law, and had her instructed in doctrine; for it was his intention she should be professed a nun of the order of St. Clare, which had a very rich and large convent in England. In this manner was she educated during the time the earl remained in England, before his expedition into France. She was also constantly attended by nuns from this convent, who tutored her in matters of religion, continually blaming the married state. The young lady seemed to incline to their doctrine, and thought not of marriage.

* Froissart mistakes: their names were Eleanor and Mary.

Duke John of Lancaster, being a prudent and wise man, foresaw the advantage of marrying his only son Henry, by his first wife Blanche, to the lady Mary: he was heir to all the possessions of the house of Lancaster in England, which were very considerable. The duke had for some time considered he could not choose a more desirable wife for his son than the lady who was intended for a nun, as her estates were very large, and her birth suitable to any rank; but he did not take any steps in the matter until his brother of Buckingham had set out on his expedition to France. When he had crossed the sea, the duke of Lancaster had the young lady conducted to Arundel castle; for the aunt of the two ladies was the sister of Richard earl of Arundel, one of the most powerful barons of England.

This lady Arundel, out of complaisance to the duke of Lancaster, and for the advancement of the young lady, went to Pleshy, where she remained with the countess of Buckingham and her sister for fifteen days. On her departure from Pleshy, she managed so well that she carried with her the lady Mary to Arundel, when the marriage was instantly consummated between her and Henry of Lancaster. During their union of twelve years, he had by her four handsome sons, Henry, Thomas, John and Humphrey, and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa.

The earl of Buckingham, as I said, had not any inclination to laugh when he heard these tidings; for it would now be necessary to divide an inheritance which he considered wholly as his own, excepting

cepting the constableship which was continued to him.

When he learnt that his brothers had all been concerned in this matter, he became melancholy, and never after loved the duke of Lancaster as he had hitherto done.

We will now return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAP. XLIV.

•THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM BESIEGES NANTES.
SALLIES ARE MADE BY THE GARRISON.

YOU have heard of the agreement which had been sworn to, between the duke of Brittany and earl of Buckingham, to besiege Nantes. When the duke had left Rennes, the lord de Montbourcier, sir Stephen Guyon, the lord de la Houssaye and their company retired to Vannes and Hennebon ; and the earl of Buckingham and his army prepared to march to Nantes : they set out, therefore, from the suburbs of Rennes, and the adjacent villages where they had been quartered, and lodged that day at Chastillon, on the next day at Bain, and the third at Nozay ; and on the fourth they quartered themselves in the suburbs of Nantes.

The earl was lodged at the gate of Sauvetout:

the lord Latimer constable of the army*, lord Fitzwalter and lord Basset were quartered at the gate of St. Nicholas, close to the river side. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley were lodged right honourably among their own men, as was proper for them.

In the town were numbers of knights and squires from Brittany, Beauce, Anjou and Maine, who well understood how to defend the place: they had the whole load and charge, for the inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about it. It happened, that on Martinmas eve, sir John le Barrois des Barres collected some of his companions in the town and said to them; 'My good gentlemen, we know that our enemies are close to us, and we have not yet given them an alert: I am of opinion, that this fine night we should look at them, and give them a skirmish.' 'By my faith,' they replied, 'you speak loyally: tell us what you wish, and we will do it.'

They collected a body of about one hundred and twenty, well armed and determined men, and having ordered the gate to be opened where the constable, the lord Basset and the lord Fitzwalter were quartered, placed good guards at it to secure their retreat. The leaders of this troop were le Barrois des Barres, John Châtelmorant and the captain de Clifson. They came so unexpectedly as to find

* Lord Despenser was constable in the preceding chapter. D. Sauvage supposes Froissart had forgotten it. But Dugdale says, in his Baronage, 'he was constable of the host at the siege of Nantes.'

the English at supper : having shouted their war-cry, ‘Des Barres !’ the French began to lay about them, slaying and wounding many. The English were soon prepared and drawn up before their quarters, which when the French saw they very prudently retreated in a compact body towards the town. The English came from all parts to the skirmish : some of each side were struck to the ground, and the French driven within their barriers.

There were some slain and wounded on both sides ; but le Barrois des Barres entered the town with so little loss that this skirmish was held, both at home and abroad, as a gallant action.

On the evening of St. Martin’s day, le Barrois des Barres spoke to his companions, saying ; ‘It would be a good thing if, at day-break to-morrow, we could get six or seven large barges, with two hundred men and the same number of cross-bows, to visit our enemies by water ; for they have not the least suspicions of our coming to them down the river.’ They all assented to this proposal, and assembled that same night the number of men des Barres had fixed on : before day-light, they embarked in six large boats, and, floating down the stream, landed below the enemy’s quarters. Sir John Harlestone with his men were lodged in a large hôtel, not far from where they had landed, and which at day-break they surrounded and attacked. Sir John was soon dressed and armed, as were his men : they defended themselves courageously, the archers shooting at the cross-bows. This skirmish was long and severe : many were killed.

killed and wounded, and sir John would have been conquered, if sir Robert Knolles, who was quartered not far distant, had not armed himself and his men, and, with displayed banner, advanced hastily to his assistance. Sir William Windsor did the same, who, having had information of what was going on, hurried thither: besides, the English were now coming from all parts.

The French retreated to their boats, as they saw the necessity of it, or else of risking the event of a battle. There was much skirmishing on the shore, as they reembarked, but they departed very gallantly.

The captains performed many valorous deeds; but, on their return to Nantes, several of the French were taken, slain or drowned. All who heard of this enterprize considered it as one of great courage and ability.

The English, finding themselves thus constantly attacked by the garrison of Nantes, resolved to be more on their guard, and to keep a stricter watch. The seventh night, however, after the attack which le Barrois had led down the river, he made another sally from the gate where the earl of Buckingham was quartered: le Barrois had with him about two hundred men at arms and one hundred cross-bows. The Germans were on guard this night, under the command of sir Algars and sir Thomas de Roddes. Le Barrois, John de Châtelmorant and de Clisson, with their men, immediately attacked this guard of Germans, when a sharp contest began, and many were struck to the earth. Those quartered near to

the

the earl arose, armed themselves, and hastened to this skirmish ; but, when le Barrois saw the numbers increasing, he retreated to the gate, fighting all his way. Several were killed by the arrows, and many wounded on both sides. Sir Thomas de Roddes, a knight from Germany, was struck by an arrow, which pierced quite through his helmet to his head ; of which wound he died three days after : it was a pity, for he was a very able knight. The French and Bretons re-entered Nantes with scarcely any loss, carrying with them six prisoners.

Things remained in this state, and the English much on their guard, for they expected an alert every night.

CHAP. XLV.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY EXPLAINS HIS REASONS
FOR NOT COMING TO THE SIEGE OF NANTES.
—THE GARRISON CONTINUE MOST VALIANTLY
TO MAKE SALLIES.

THE earl of Buckingham remained in this situation before Nantes, daily expecting the arrival of the duke of Brittany, who never came, nor kept any of the promises he had engaged to perform, which quite discouraged the English, who knew not what to think of it. They sent repeatedly messengers

messengers with letters, to remonstrate with him how ill he was conducting himself by not keeping those promises and agreements he had sworn to so solemnly when in the city of Rennes. To all these letters the earl did not receive one answer: the English supposed the messengers to have been slain, for none returned; and in truth there was great danger to all who travelled between Nantes and Hennebon, unless they were strongly escorted. The roads were so strictly guarded by men at arms, no one could pass without being taken, or his business known; and, if there were found upon him letters from the English to the duke, or from the duke to them, the bearer was sure to be put to death. In addition to this, the foragers of the army dared not venture abroad but in large companies; for the knights and squires of the country had assembled, and would not suffer their lands to be overrun and pillaged, so that, whenever they fell in with bodies of twenty or thirty, they took all they had and their horses from them, besides wounding or killing them. This much enraged the army, but they knew not on whom to revenge themselves.

To say the truth, the duke of Brittany did every thing he could to make his people consent to follow him to the siege of Nantes, according to the agreement he had entered into with the earl of Buckingham at Rennes: but he could not succeed. Even the barons, knights and squires told him plainly they would not assist in the destruction of their country for the sake of England, and would never arm themselves in his behalf so long as the English remained

remained in Brittany. The duke, upon this, remonstrated with them, and asked why they had desired him to send for the aid of the English. They told him, in answer, that it was more to give alarm to the king of France and his council, that they might not be deprived of their ancient privileges, than for any thing else; and, in case the king of France wished them no ill will, they would not make war against him. The duke could not obtain any other answer.

On the other hand, the lord de Clisson, constable of France, the lord de Dinant, the lord de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Rochefort, and all the great barons of Brittany, had their castles well fortified and guarded. They told the duke, or sent word to him by messengers, that he had best consider well what he was about; for he had been ill advised in sending for the English, and bringing them over to destroy and carry war into his country: that he must not expect any aid from them: therefore, if he should go to Nantes, to assist in the siege, as they had heard it to be his intention, and which he ought not to have promised, they would attack his country on all sides, and would give him so much employment that he should not know what he ought to attend to first: but, if he were willing to acknowledge the king of France, and place himself under his obedience, as he was bounden to do, they engaged to make his peace with the young king. They added, that those who had had the courage to oppose king Charles deceased might be beloved by the king his son.

Such

Such was the treatment the duke met with from the great lords of Brittany, so that, in fact, he did not know what to do ; for he found he could not place any security on his barons or subjects : it therefore behoved him to dissemble.

The siege of Nantes still continued ; and on the day of our Lady, in Advent, the french garrison resolved to make another attack on the besiegers, for they had left them quiet for some time. Sir Amaury de Clisson, cousin german to the lord de Clisson, and the lord d'Amboise, made an assault, with about two hundred spears, on the quarters of sir William Windsor. They fallied out at the gate of Richebourg, on the river side, where sir Hugh Calverley's men were that night on guard. The lord d'Amboise was made a knight by sir Amaury de Clisson. These men at arms, French and Bretons, advanced in high spirits to the ford, which having gained, though guarded by sir William Cofington, a sharp contest ensued, in which many a man was overthrown. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley were in their quarters, and, hearing the noise, armed themselves and issued forth to the midst of the tumult, where the conflict mightily increased : both parties behaved valiantly. The French and Bretons made good their retreat, fighting all the way, and re-entered the gate of Richebourg with little loss : they had made a knight with ten men at arms prisoners, and had had only three of their men taken.

On Thursday, before the eve of Christmas day, Barrois des Barres, with the lord de Solete and six score

score men at arms, made another sally from the gate of Sauvetout, to beat up the quarters of the earl of Buckingham: the earl of Devonshire had that night the command of the guard. The engagement was very severe, and many were thrown down and wounded by spears; but the English, being in greater force than their enemies, drove them back to their barriers: they lost, in killed and prisoners, sixteen. In this attack, an English knight, called sir Hugh Kitiel, received a blow on his helmet, with a bolt, that caused his death.

Every man then retired to his quarters, and nothing more was done that night: but the captains in Nantes held a council, and resolved, on Christmas-eve, to make a sally with the whole garrison. The earl of Buckingham and the other English were kept in constant alarm by the garrison, and the foragers had many difficulties in providing provender for the horses, for they dared not forage but in large companies. The earl and his council were much astonished that the duke of Brittany came not, nor sent them any intelligence, so that they began to be very discontented. Upon considering every thing, they found but a very weak support in him on all occasions, which they could not account for, nor did they know how to seek redress for it. They therefore determined to send once more sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet to Vannes or Hennebon, to remonstrate with him on the part of the earl, how very ill he had conducted himself in not having fulfilled his engagements with greater honour. This resolution was afterwards

afterwards broken ; for, when they more maturely weighed it, they found they could not send off this detachment without weakening too much their army, and that they could not go to the duke but with the whole army ; for, if they should march only five or six hundred lances, and meet with a thousand or fifteen hundred, the odds would be too great, and they would be slain : they therefore did not detach any part of their army.

When the eve of Christmas was come, le Barrois des Barres, sir Amaury de Clisson, the lord d'Amboise, the lord de Solete, the châtelain de Clisson, John de Châtelmorant, and all the captains in Nantes, fallied forth in the evening, through St. Peter's gate, with a determination to act well, accompanied by six hundred men at arms. On passing the gate, they formed themselves into two divisions ; one of which marched down the street, and the other through the fields, towards the quarters of the lord Latimer and the lord Fitzwalter. Sir Evan Fitzwarren and sir William Renton commanded the guard. On the first attack, they gained the barriers of the guard, and, killing many, they drove them as far as the quarters of the constable, lord Latimer. They halted before the hôtel of the lord Delawarr, where there was a grand engagement ; for the French had an intention of conquering this hôtel, which they were on the point of taking and the lord Delawarr in it. The guard suffered much before any succours arrived. Sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Delawarr and sir William Drayton, did many gallant deeds. These assaults

assaults caused the battalions of the constable and marshal to exert themselves: they sounded their trumpets, and directly armed. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley, hearing the trumpets, knew the van-guard was engaged: they ordered their trumpets to sound also, and a number of torches to be lighted and their banners displayed, with which they marched to the place where the combat was, attended by one hundred men at arms and as many archers. In another part, sir Thomas Trivet, lord Thomas Percy and lord Baffet, each with their banners before them, advanced to the skirmish. Good need had the van-guard of the haste they made to their relief, for they were on the point of losing their quarters: but when these barons and their men were arrived, they drove back the French and Bretons, who, forming together in a handsome body, retreated towards the town, skirmishing all the way. Many valiant deeds were done; and some young french knights and squires, in order to gain honours, ventured too far, so that sir Tristan de la Jaille was taken, in his foolish attempt, by a squire from Hainault called Thierry de Sommain.

Thus was this attack made. All those, or at least a part, who had come from Nantes, re-entered it; for, in these cases, there must be wounded and slain; and, when the heat of an engagement animates, such accidents are to be expected. They returned, however, without much loss; for they had full as many prisoners from the English as they had had taken from them. When the gates were closed,

closed, they attended to their wounded. The army returned to their quarters, but did not dismiss the guard: on the contrary, additions were made to it.

No sally was attempted on Christmas day, nor on the succeeding feasts. The English expected to be attacked every night; but what troubled them the most was their not receiving any intelligence from the duke of Brittany. Their provisions were become very short, for it was with difficulty they could forage. The garrison was well supplied, by means of the river Loire, from the rich countries of Poitou, Saintonge and la Rochelle.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE ENGLISH BREAK UP THE SIEGE OF NANTES.
—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SENDS HANDSOME EXCUSES TO THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM.

AFTER the earl of Buckingham and the English had been before Nantes two months and four days, they found they could gain nothing, and that the duke of Brittany would not keep any of his engagements, for he neither came nor sent to them. They thought it best to decamp from thence (since they could not succeed), and march towards Vannes, to have some conversation with the duke, and

and know from himself the reasons of his conduct. Orders were issued for the army to pack up and dislodge: they decamped, the last day of the year, in the same order of battle with which they had marched through France, and halted, the day they left Nantes, at Nort, where they remained, for three days, on account of the bridge being broken down.

They had much trouble in repairing this bridge, that their carriages might pass over: however, it was made good and strong, and the army, having also crossed the river Vilaine on a Saturday, took up their quarters at Lohéac, where they staid two days. When the army left Lohéac, they quartered themselves at Gosselin, where they also halted for two days, and then they came to la Trinité. They crossed the river Ault at the Pont de Boquinio, when the whole army stopped on that side of the water on the plains.

The inhabitants of Vannes received exact information of the day on which the army decamped, and when they crossed the river, from the country people, and that the earl of Buckingham was marching his army thither, intending to fix his quarters in their city. They knew not how to act, whether to permit them to come into their town or not: they therefore went to the duke at Hennebon; but the day they set out they met him, two leagues from Vannes, on his road thither.

The duke, perceiving his good subjects advancing towards him, asked them what was the news, and whither

whither they were going. ‘ My lord,’ they replied, ‘ as for news, we can tell you enough : the earl of Buckingham and the English are marching hitherward ; and it is their intention, as we have been informed, to quarter themselves in your good town of Vannes. Now, you must consider how you would have us act ; for without your order we will not do any thing. In truth, they have repaired the Pont de Boquinio, which was broken down.’

The duke, on hearing these words, paused a little, and then answered ; ‘ God help us ! do not you be uneasy nor alarmed at trifles, for every thing will turn out well. These English will not do you any harm. I have entered into certain engagements which I must perform, and acquit myself to them. I am now going to Vannes ; and to-morrow, as I verily believe, they will arrive there. I will advance to meet my brother, the earl, and will pay him every honour and respect in my power, for truly I am bounden so to do. As for the rest, you will act according to my advice, which is, that you meet him, and present him the keys of your town, saying, that you and all the town are ready to receive him and to obey his orders, on condition that he swear, fifteen days after he shall be requested to depart, he will march out of the town, and will deliver back to you the keys of it. This is the best advice I can give you.’

The citizens of Vannes replied ; ‘ My lord, we will obey your directions.’ They then rode on together to Vannes, where the duke lodged that night ;

night ; and the English fixed their quarters at St. Jean, a small village, situated two leagues from Vannes.

The earl of Buckingham received that evening letters from the duke, written with great affection, welcoming him to the neighbourhood of Vannes. On the morrow, when the earl had heard mass, and drank a cup, he mounted his horse, and with his whole army marched in great order towards Vannes ; first the vanguard, then the earl in the centre battalion, the rearguard following close upon him. In this order they met the duke of Brittany, who had come out a long league from Vannes to meet them. Great affection was shewn to each other by the duke and earl. After this reception, which was very honourable, they rode together, the earl on the right and the duke on the left, and entered into conversation : the earl said,—‘ By holy Mary, fair brother of Brittany, we waited most impatiently for your arrival at Nantes, during the siege, according to the treaty entered into between you and me, and yet you never came.’ ‘ By my faith, my lord,’ answered the duke, ‘ I could not any way accomplish it ; and I must own to you that I have been exceedingly enraged thereat, but it was not possible for me to act otherwise ; for my subjects, notwithstanding every argument I could use in remonstrating with them on the treaties I had made with you at their own requests, would never agree to march to assist you in the siege of Nantes. The principal barons kept themselves ready prepared on the borders, such as the lord de

Clisson, the lord de Dinant, the lord d'Orval, the viscount de Rohan and the lord de Rochefort, to guard the entrances of Brittany. All those my adherents and friends, as well knights and prelates as principal towns, are at this moment in a state of rebellion ; at which I am very much mortified, for by their misconduct you have reason to find fault with me. I will tell you therefore, my lord, what you shall do : being now the depth of winter, it is cold and uncomfortable to keep an army in the field : you shall come to Vannes, where you will remain until April or May, to recover yourselves from your fatigues, and I will give orders that your men are taken care of. You will pass your time as well as you can, and in the summer we will revenge ourselves for all these contempts.'

The earl replied, 'May God assist us !' for he saw plainly there was nothing better to be expected. The duke conducted him towards Vannes, when the inhabitants of the town came out in their robes, and, addressing the earl, said to him in an amicable manner,—' My lord, out of respect to your lordship, and in reverence to your great honour, we have not any objections to your entering our town ; but we wish, in order to satisfy the people (otherwise you will not be very secure), you would swear to us, on the holy Evangelists, that fifteen days after we shall have requested you to depart, you will march away with your whole army, without doing or suffering to be done to us the least molestation.'

' By my troth, none shall be done to you,' answered

fswered the earl of Buckingham ; ‘and I will fwear and keep it.’ They afterwards made the other lords fwear on their faith, and on the holy Evangelists, to keep the same engagement as the earl had done, to which they readily assented. It behoved them so to do, unless they had wished to sleep in the fields.

The division of the army of the earl of Buckingham was quartered in the town of Vannes, and himself lodged in the hôtel of the duke, a well built and pleasantly situated castle, called la Motte.

The duke of Brittany entertained the english knights handsomely at dinner in his castle of la Motte, and then retired to Sucinio*, where he re-fided ; but sometimes he came to Vannes, to visit the earl and hold conferences with him, and then returned to the place whence he had come.

Lord Latimer, lord Fitzwalter, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and the whole of the van of the army, were to have been quartered at Hennebon ; but the inhabitants would not open their gates to them, so that they were forced to lodge themselves in the suburbs and in the fields.

Sir Robert Knolles and lord Fitzwarren, with many more, were to have been quartered in Quimpercorentin ; but the inhabitants treated them as those of Hennebon had done, and they were obliged to make the same shifts with the van. Sir William Windsor and the rearward were, by orders of the duke, to lodge at Quimperlé ; but they could not,

* Sucinio,—a castle near Vannes.—GAZETTEER.

by entreaties nor threats, prevail on the inhabitants to open their gates.

In consequence, they suffered much, from the inclemency of the weather and the ill usage they met with : what was not worth three farthings was sold to them for twelve, and hardly could they get any provision at such prices. Their horses perished through cold and famine, for they knew not where to collect forage ; and, when they went out to seek it, they were in great peril, as the adjacent countries were all inimical to them.

The viscount de Rohan possessed at that time two strong castles in the neighbourhood of Vannes ; one was called Caire, and the other Linguighant. In these two castles, the viscount had strong garrisons, which, aided by other garrisons of the lord de Clisson situated on this frontier, such as château Josselin, Montagu and Moncontour, did much mischief to the english foragers, killing many.

The duke of Brittany could not prevent this ; for the lord de Clisson, constable of France, carried on the war in the name of the king of France, and had in the country numerous bodies of men at arms, so that the English dared not stir abroad in small parties. When it is considered that they were encamped in the fields, without any intrenchments, it is marvellous they did not suffer greater losses ; for those quartered in Vannes could not easily assist those near Quimperlé, Hennebon, or Quimper-
rentin. To say the truth, the duke stood boldly forward, and guarded them to the best of his abilities, to prevent their destruction. He fairly told his

his council, that he had but poorly acquitted himself towards the earl and his army of all the promises he had made them.

At this time, there were four great barons at Paris, whom the duke had sent to the king of France to make his peace ; the viscount de Rohan, sir Charles de Dinan, sir Guy lord de Laval and sir Guy lord de Rochefort. These four barons of Brittany had remonstrated with him in council, during the time the earl of Buckingham was before Nantes, several times, and with much wisdom, in such terms as these : ‘ My lord, you shew to all the world, that your heart is entirely given to the English : you have brought into this country Englishmen who, if they gain the upper hand, will diminish your inheritance. What profit or pleasure can you have in this great affection for them ? Look to the situation of the king of Navarre, who put his confidence in them : after having given them possession of his town and castle of Cherbourg, they have never quitted it, nor ever will, but keep it as their own property. Therefore, if you put them into any of your fortified towns in Brittany, they will not leave them ; for daily reinforcements will arrive. See how they keep Brest ; nor have they any thoughts of surrendering it, although it is your inheritance. Be satisfied, my lord, with the love of the people of this country, who will never give up the king of France to serve and belong to the king of England. If your duchess is from England, would you, for that, run the risk of losing your whole dukedom, which has cost you so much to gain,

gain, and always continue in a state of warfare ? In case the country should be against you, you will be but as one man. Quit your present advisers ; for the king of France whom you did not love is dead, and at present there is a young and amiable monarch on the throne, who has good abilities ; and those who have hated the father may serve the son. We undertake to make your peace with him, and bring you to a proper understanding with each other. You will continue lord and duke of Brittany with great power, and the English return to their own country.'

In such words as the above, and others well glossed over, had these barons remonstrated several times with the duke ; they had succeeded so far as to have half gained his consent to their purpose ; but he still dissembled with the king of France and the English, as well as with his own council, until he should more plainly see what would be the event.

The earl of Buckingham and his barons were ignorant of all these secret intrigues which the four barons above mentioned were carrying on at Paris with the king and his uncles, until the matter was arranged. Prior to their knowledge of it, and before they left Brittany, there were tilts and tournaments held at Vannes, in the presence of the earl of Buckingham and the lords who were there, of which I will speak ; for it is not a thing that I ought to be silent about, nor should it be forgotten.

CHAP. XLVII.

TILTS AND TOURNAMENTS ARE PERFORMED
BEFORE THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM BETWEEN
CERTAIN FRENCH AND ENGLISH KNIGHTS.

AT the time when Gauvain Micaille and Joachiin Cator performed their combat before the earl of Buckingham and the english lords, certain knights and squires from France had come as spectators to Marchenoir near Blois, when sir Reginald de Touars, lord de Pousanges, a baron of Poitou, had some words with the lord de Vertain, and said he would like to tilt with him three courses with the lance and three strokes with the battle-axe. The lord de Vertain, wishing not to refuse, was eager to accommodate him immediately, whatever might be the event: but the earl of Buckingham would not consent, and forbade the knight at that time to think of it.

What had been said relative to this feat of arms was not forgotten by the two knights. Similar words had passed that same day between a squire from Savoye, called the bastard Clarius, and Edward Beauchamp, son of sir Robert Beauchamp; and also between sir Tristan de la Jaille and sir John d'Ambreticourt, sir John de Châtelmorant and Jannequin Clinton; and le Gallois d'Aunay and

six

sir William Clinton ; between sir Hoyau d'Araines and sir William France ; but these were all set aside like the first.

During the time the English were quartered in the suburbs of Nantes, these french knights and squires were within the town. The lord de Ver-tain and the others were requested by the french knights to deliver them from their engagements while they were before Nantes ; but the governors in Nantes would not consent, and excused their friends by saying, they were in Nantes, as soldiers, intrusted with the guard and defence of the town. Nothing more passed until the earl of Buckingham's army were fixed in their quarters at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperlé and Quimpercorentin, when sir Barrois des Barres, sir Hoyau d'Araines, and many other knights and squires, came to château Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, where the constable of France resided. The count de la Marche with several knights were also there, who were very glad to see them, and received them handsomely. They informed the constable of all that had passed, and that such and such persons had undertaken deeds of prowess against others of the English. The constable heard this with pleasure, and said ; ' Send to them : we will grant them passports, to perform these deeds of arms, if they be willing to come.'

Le Gallois d'Aunay and sir Hoyau d'Araines were the first to say, they were ready to perform their engagement of three courses with the spear, on horseback. When sir William Clinton and sir William

William France heard they were called upon by the French to perform their challenges, they were much rejoiced, and took leave of the earl and barons of England to go thither. They were accompanied by many knights and squires. The English and French tilted very handsomely, and performed their deeds of arms as the rules required. Then sir Regnaud de Touars, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir John de Châtelmorant and the bastard Clarius, summoned each of them his knight or squire; that is to say the lord de Vertain, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Edward Beauchamp and Jannequin Clinton. These four were so eager for the combat that they wished to go to château Josselin on the passports of the constable; but the earl of Buckingham, hearing at Vannes the summons from the French, said aloud to the heralds; ' You will tell the constable, from the earl of Buckingham, that he is equally powerful to grant passports to the French as he may be to grant them to the English; and to all those who may wish to perform any deeds of arms with his knights, on their arrival at Vannes, he will, out of his affection to them, give passports, and to all who may choose to accompany them, both for their stay and for their return.'

When the constable heard this, he instantly perceived the earl was in the right, and that he wanted to see those deeds of arms: it was but reasonable there should be as many performed at Vannes as had been before him at château Josselin. The constable therefore said; ' The earl of Buckingham

ham speaks like a valiant man and a king's son, and I will that what he says shall be believed : let me know those who may be desirous of accompanying the challengers, and we will send for a proper passport.' Thirty knights and squires immediately stepped forth : a herald came to Vannes for the passport, which was given to him sealed by the earl of Buckingham.

The three knights who were to perform their deeds of arms set out from château Josselin, attended by the others, and came to Vannes, where they were lodged in the suburbs, and the English entertained them well. On the morrow, they made preparations for the combat, as it behoved them to do, and advanced to a handsome space, which was large and even, on the outside of the town. Afterwards came the earl of Buckingham, the earl of Stafford, the earl of Devonshire and other barons, with those who were to engage in this deed of arms : the lord de Vertain against sir Regnaud de Thouars, lord de Pousanges; sir John d'Ambreticourt against Tristan de la Jaille; Edward Beauchamp against the bastard Clarius de Savoye.

The French took their places at one end of the lists*, and the English at the other. Those who

* In the *histoire de la vie de Louis III. duc de Bourbon*, chap. xliv. p. 160, five combatants are mentioned ; sir John de Châtelmorant, sir Barrois des Barres, the bastard of Clairains (probably the same as the bastard of Savoy), the viscount d'Aunay and sir Tristan de la Jaille. The English were, sir Walter

who were to tilt were on foot completely armed, with helmets, vizors, and provided with lances of good steel from Bourdeaux, with which they performed as follows :

First, the lord de Poufanges and the lord de Vertain, two barons of high renown and great courage, advanced towards each other on foot, holding their sharp spears in their hands, with a good pace : they did not spare themselves, but struck their lances lustily against each other in pushing. The lord de Vertain was hit, without being wounded ; but the lord de Poufanges received such a stroke that it pierced through the mail and steel breastplate, and every thing underneath, so that the blood gushed out, and it was a great wonder he was not more seriously wounded. They finished their three courses and the other deeds of arms without further mischief, when they

Walter Clopton, Edward Beauchamp, Thomas de Hennefort, Crosby, and sir John de Tracio, probably Tracy.

Sir John de Châtelmorant tilted with sir Walter Clopton, and wounded him so badly as to prevent the completing his engagement.

Sir Barrois was opposed by Thomas de Hennefort, and these finished their career with lances unhurt ; but sir Thomas was wounded too badly with the sword to continue it.

The bastard de Clairains vanquished Edward Beauchamp : he reeled so much, the English said he was drunk.

Sir Tristan de la Jaille conquered his adversary.

The viscount d'Aulnay had similar success.

Sir William Farrington challenged sir John de Châtelmorant to complete the engagement which his relation, sir Walter, had been obliged to relinquish, and wounded sir John, as mentioned in the text, to the great scandal of the English.

retired

retired to repose themselves, and to be spectators of the actions of the others.

Sir John d'Ambreticourt, who was from Hainault, and sir Tristan de la Jaille, from Poitou, next advanced, and performed their courses very valiantly, without hurt to either, when they also retired.

Then came the last, Edward Beauchamp and Clarius de Savoye. This bastard was a hardy and strong squire, and much better formed in all his limbs than the Englishman. They ran at each other with a hearty good will : both struck their spears on their adversary's breast ; but Edward was knocked down on the ground, which much vexed his countrymen. When he was raised up, he took his spear, and they advanced again to the attack ; but the Savoyard drove him backward to the earth, which more enraged the English : they said, Edward's strength was not a match for this Savoyard, and the devil was in him to make him think of tilting against one of such superior force. He was carried off among them, and declared he would not engage further.

When Clarius saw this, wishing to finish his course of arms, he said ; ' Gentlemen, you do not use me well : since Edward wishes not to go on, send me some one with whom I may complete my courses.'

The earl of Buckingham would know what Clarius had said, and, when it was told him, replied, that the Frenchman had spoken well and valiantly. An english squire then stepped forth, who

who was since knighted, and called Jannequin Finchley, and, coming before the earl, kneeled down and entreated his permission to tilt with Clarius, to which the earl assented.

Jannequin very completely armed himself on the spot : then each, seizing his spear, made thrusts at the other, and with such violence that their spears were shivered, and the stumps of them flew over their heads. They began their second attack, and their lances were again broken : so were they in the third. All their lances were broken, which was considered by the lords and spectators as a decisive proof of their gallantry. They then drew their swords, which were strong ; and, in six strokes, four of them were broken. They were desirous of fighting with battle-axes, but the earl would not consent to more being done, saying they had sufficiently shewn their courage and abilities. Upon this, they both retired ; when sir John de Châtelmorant and Jannequin Clinton advanced. This Jannequin was squire of honour to the earl of Buckingham, and the nearest about his person ; but he was lightly made and delicate in his form. The earl was uneasy that he should have been matched with one so stout and renowned in arms as John de Châtelmorant : notwithstanding, they were put to the trial, and attacked each other most vigorously ; but the Englishman could not withstand his opponent, for, in pushing, he was very roughly struck to the ground : on which, the earl said, they were not fairly matched. Some of the earl's people came to Jannequin, and said,—

said,—‘ Jannequin, you are not sufficiently strong to continue this combat: and my lord of Buckingham is angry with you for having undertaken it: retire, and repose yourself.’ The Englishman having retired, John de Châtelmorant said,—‘ Gentlemen, it seems your squire is too weak: choose another, I beg of you, more to your liking, that I may accomplish the deeds of arms I have engaged to perform; for I shall be very disgracefully treated if I depart hence without having completed them.’

The constable and marshal of the army replied, ‘ You speak well, and you shall be gratified.’ It was then told to the surrounding knights and squires, that one of them must deliver the lord de Châtelmorant. On these words, sir William Farrington immediately replied,—‘ Tell him, he shall not depart without combating: let him go and repose himself a little in his chair, and he shall soon be delivered; for I will arm myself against him.’

This answer was very pleasing to John de Châtelmorant, who went to his seat to rest himself. The English knight was soon ready and in the field. They placed themselves opposite to each other, when, taking their lances, they began their course on foot to tilt with their spears within the four members; for it was esteemed disgraceful to hit any part but the body.

They advanced to each other with great courage, completely armed, the vizor down and helmet tightly fixed on. John de Châtelmorant gave the knight

knight such a blow on the helmet that sir William Farrington staggered some little, on account of his foot slipping : he kept his spear stify with both hands, and, lowering it by the stumble he made, struck John de Châtelmorant on the thighs ; he could not avoid it ; and the spear head passed through, and came out the length of one's hand on the other side. John de Châtelmorant reeled with the blow, but did not fall.

The english knights were much enraged at this, and said, it was infamously done. The Englishman excused himself by saying, ‘ he was extremely sorry for it ; and if he had thought it would have so happened at the commencement of the combat, he would never have undertaken it ; but that he could not help it, for his foot slipped from the violence of the blow he had received.’

Thus the matter was passed over. The French, after taking leave of the earl and other lords, departed, carrying with them John de Châtelmorant in a litter, to château Josselin, whence they had come, and where he was in great danger of his life from the effects of this wound.

These deeds of arms being finished, each retired to his home ; the English to Vannes, the French to château Josselin.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MAKES HIS PEACE
WITH THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE ENGLISH
RETURN HOME.—A COMBAT BETWEEN AN
ENGLISH AND A FRENCH SQUIRE.

AFTER these deeds of arms were performed, during the residence of the earl of Buckingham at Vannes, nothing happened worth mentioning. The English, as I have before said, were quartered at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperlé and Quimpercorentin : they passed the whole winter in Brittany as well as they could. Very many of them were ill, and suffered much from the badness and scarcity of provision ; as did also their horses, for their foragers could not find any thing in the open country, which at that season is always bare.

The French had taken every precaution that the enemy should not be very comfortable. The English were in this perilous state some time ; for the French were so strong in the surrounding garrisons, they dared not make any excursions.

Some provision came to them by sea from Cornwall, Guernsey and the isle of Wight, which were of great succour to them ; otherwise they and their cavalry would have perished through famine.

During this time, the four breton barons remained

mainied at Paris on the part of the duke, negotiating a peace between him and the king: He did not oppose it; for he saw clearly that he could not keep the promises he had made the English, unless he would lose his dukedom.

It was the intention of the earl of Buckingham and his barons to pass the winter in the town of Vannes as well as they could, and in the summer to return to France to continue the war: he had written a full account of his situation and intentions to the king of England and to the duke of Lancaster. The king and his council, having approved of this plan, ordered him to carry it into execution, adding, that at the proper season, a reinforcement of English should be sent to Normandy and land at Cherbourg; and those two armies, being united in Normandy, might be able to perform some decisive actions in France.

The king of France, his uncles and council foresaw all that might happen, having been duly informed of the intended plans: they said, in their secret councils, that if the duke of Brittany, or any of his principal towns, were at enmity with the realm, and united with the English force, France would have, for a time, too heavy a burden to bear. For this reason, the four barons from Brittany, who represented the duke and managed his affairs very well, had thrown out these doubts: in particular, they had opened themselves to the duke of Anjou, at that time regent of France, who having a grand expedition in his head, and intending within two years at the farthest to march to la

Puglia and Calabria, would not have chosen that the kingdom of France should be shaken, nor his expedition put off. He was therefore strongly inclined to make peace with the duke of Brittany, that he might become a good Frenchman, loyal in faith and homage to the king of France. The articles of peace were now discussed by the four barons: it was settled that the duke might, without blame, assist the English with vessels to return to their own country. The duke was permitted to add to his ordinances; that if those who had come from the garrison of Cherbourg to serve under the earl of Buckingham wished to return thither by land, they should have passports from the king and constable to march through France, but unarmed, and any knights or squires from England who might be desirous of accompanying them: that, when the English had quitted Brittany, the duke was to come to the king and his uncles at Paris, and acknowledge himself vassal by faith and homage to the king, in such way as a duke of Brittany owes to his lord, the king of France.

All these articles were properly drawn out and sealed, and carried to the duke of Brittany, who at that time was resident at Sucinio, near to Vannes. He agreed to what his ambassadors had done, but sore against his inclination; for he knew he could not do it, without incurring the greatest ill-will from the English.

When the earl of Buckingham and his knights heard that the duke of Brittany had made peace with France, they were greatly enraged and very *indignant*,

indignant, saying, he had sent for them and made them come to Brittany, where he had never performed any one of the promises he had fworn to ; for which reason they pronounced him void of loyalty.

Shortly after, the duke visited the earl of Buckingham and his barons at Vannes, when he openly explained to them the treaty his people had made for him, and which it behoved him to agree to, for otherwise he should lose his whole duchy. Upon this, high words passed between the earl and his barons with the duke ; but the duke humbled and excused himself as much as possible, for he was conscious that he had been in some sort to blame. It was, however, necessary to come to terms, in order that the English might quit Brittany.

The earl then gave notice to the city of Vannes, that if any of his men were indebted to the inhabitants, they shōuld come forward, when they would be paid. He gave back to the magistrates the keys of the town, and thanked them for their attentions to him.

The earl was supplied with vessels at Vannes, Hennebont and Quimperlé, and wherever else they had been quartered, on paying for them : he left Vannes the eleventh day of April, in battle-array, with banners displayed, and thus marched to the haven. The duke of Brittany, sir Alain de la Houssaye, the lord de Montbourgier, sir Stephen Guyon, sir William de Tresquidi, sir Geoffry de Kerinel and others of his council, came thither : they sent to

inform the earl, who was in his vessel, that the duke wanted to speak with him ; but the earl refused to come, and sent the lord Latimer and lord Thomas Percy.

These two had a conference with the duke for three hours, and, after long debates, consented to request the earl, that before he set sail, he would on another day have a conversation with the duke: they then went to his ship, and related to the earl all that had passed.

About midnight, on the return of the tide, the wind became favourable ; and the mariners asked the earl, what were his intentions. The earl, who wished not for any further conferences, said, ‘Weigh your anchor and set your sails, and let us be gone.’ This was soon done ; and thus did the English sail from the harbour of Vannes for England. All the others did the same in their different ports, and collected together at sea.

We will now speak of certain knights and squires who returned to Cherbourg by land, and relate what befel them on their road. The constable of France, who at that time resided at château Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, had granted passports to some English and Navarre knights of the garrison of Cherbourg, who had served under the earl of Buckingham. Among others were sir John Harlestone, governor of Cherbourg, sir Evan Fitzwarren, sir William Clinton and sir John Burley. They set out from Vannes, following the road to château Josselin, for it was in their route. On their arrival, they took up their

their quarters in the town below the castle, not intending more than to dine and continue their journey. When they had dismounted at the inn, like travellers who wished to repose themselves, the knights and squires of the castle came to visit them as brother-soldiers, who always see each other with pleasure, particularly the French and English.

Among the French, there was a squire of great renown in arms, who belonged to John de Bourbon, count de la Marche, the nearest to his person of all his squires, and whom he loved the most: his name was John Boucmel. He had formerly been in garrison in Valognes with sir William des Bordes, and in his expedition against Cherbourg. During that time, he had often had words with an English squire, called Nicholas Clifford, who was then present, respecting a tilting match. In the course of the conversation which these French knights and squires held at the inn with the English, John Boucmel, recollecting Clifford, cried out,—‘Nicholas Clifford! Ah! Nicholas, Nicholas, we have often wished and fought to perform a tilting match; but we never could find fit opportunity or place for it. Now, as we are here before my lord constable and those gentlemen, let us perform it: I therefore demand from you three courses with a lance.’ ‘John,’ replied Nicholas, ‘you know that we are here but as travellers on our road, under the passport of my lord constable: what you ask from me cannot now be complied with, for I am not the principal in the passport, but

but under the command of these knights whom you see : if I were to stay behind, they would set out without me.' 'Ha, Nicholas, do not make such excuses as these : let your friends depart, if they please, for I give you my promise, that as soon as our tilt shall be over, I will conduct you myself within the gates of Cherbourg without loss or peril, as I can depend on my lord constable's good will.'

Nicholas said,—' Now suppose it to be as you say, and that I placed my confidence in being safely conducted by you, yet you see we are travelling through the country without arms of any sort : therefore, if I were willing to arm myself, I have not wherewithal to do so.'

John replied,—' You shall not excuse yourself that way, for I will tell you what I will do : I have plenty of arms at my command, and will order different sorts to be brought to the place where we shall tilt ; and, when all are laid out, you shall examine them, and consider which will suit you best ; for I will leave the choice to you, and, when you shall have chosen, I will then arm myself.'

When Nicholas saw himself so earnestly pressed, he was ashamed that those present should have heard it, and thought, that since John made such handsome offers, he could not in honour refuse them ; for John still added, ' Make whatever arrangements you please, I will agree to them sooner than we should not have a tilting match.'

Nicholas then said, he would consider of it ; and, before his departure he would make him acquainted with his resolution ; adding, ' if it will not be

be possible for me to comply with your request at this place, and if my lords, under whom I am, should be unwilling to assent to it, on my return to Cherbourg, if you will come to Valogne, and signify to me your arrival, I will immediately hasten thither, and deliver you from your engagement.'

'No, no,' said John; 'seek not for excuses: I have offered you such handsome proposals, that you cannot in honour depart without running a tilt with me, according to the demand I make.' Nicholas was more enraged than before; for he thought, and true it was, that he, by such a speech, greatly outraged his honour. Upon this, the French returned to the castle, and the English to their inn, where they dined.

When these knights had got to the castle, you may suppose they were not silent on the words which had passed between John Boucmeil and Nicholas Clifford, inasmuch that the constable heard of them. He considered a short time; and, when the knights and squires of the country who were with him entreated him to interest himself that this combat might be fought, he willingly promised it.

The English knights and squires, wishing to pursue their journey after dinner, went to the castle to wait on the constable; for he was to give them seven knights to escort them the whole road, through Brittany and Normandy, as far as Cherbourg.

When they were arrived at the castle, the constable received them very amicably, and then said, — 'I put you all under arrest, and forbid you to depart

depart hence this day: to-morrow morning, after mass, you shall witness the combat between your squire and ours, and then you shall dine with me, Dinner over, you shall set out, and I will give you good guides to conduct you to Cherbourg.' They complied with his requests, and, having drank of his wine, returned to their inn. Now the two squires consulted together, for it was fixed they should on the Morrow morning engage without fail. When morning came, they both heard mass, confessed themselves, and mounted their horses; the French being on one side, and the English on the other: they rode together to a smooth plain on the outside of the castle, where they dismounted. John Boucmeil had provided there two suits of armour, according to his promise, which were good and strong, as the occasion demanded: having had them displayed, he told the English squire to make the first choice. 'No,' said the Englishman, 'I will not choose: you shall have the choice.' John was therefore forced to choose first, which he did, and armed himself completely (in doing which he was assisted), as a good man at arms should be, Nicholas did the same. When they were both armed, they grasped their spears, well made with Bourdeaux steel and of the same length; and each took the position proper for him to run his course, with their helmets and vizors closed. They then advanced, and, when they approached pretty near, they lowered their spears, aiming them to hit each other. At the first onset, Nicholas Clifford struck with his spear John Boucmeil on the upper part of his

his breast ; but the point slipped off the steel breast-plate, and pierced the hood, which was of good mail, and, entering his neck, cut the jugular vein, and passed quite through, breaking off at the shaft with the head ; so that the truncheon remained in the neck of the squire, who was killed, as you may suppose. The english squire passed on to his chair, where he seated himself. The french lords, who had seen the stroke and the broken spear in his neck, hastened to him ; they immediately took off his helmet, and drew out the spear. On its being extracted, he turned himself about without uttering a word, and fell down dead. The english squire hurried to his relief, crying out to have the blood staunched, but could not arrive before he expired. Nicholas Clifford was then exceedingly vexed, for having by ill fortune slain a valiant and good man at arms. All who at that time could have seen the despair of the count de la Marche, who had such an affection for his deceased squire, would surely have much pitied him : he was in the greatest distress, for he esteemed him above all others.

The constable was present, and endeavoured to comfort him, saying, 'that such things were to be expected in similar combats. It has turned out unfortunate for our squire, but the Englishman could not help it.' He then addressed himself to the English,—'Come, come to dinner, for it is ready.' The constable led them, as I may say, against their wills to the castle to dinner, for they wished not to go there on account of the death of the Frenchman.

The

. The count de la Marche most tenderly bewailed his squire, as he viewed his corpse. Nicholas Clifford directly retired to his lodgings, and would not by any means dine at the castle, as well for the great vexation he was in for this death as on account of his relations and friends : but the constable sent to seek for him, and it was necessary he should comply.

On his arrival, the constable said,—‘ In truth, Nicholas, I can very well believe, and I see by your looks, that you are much concerned for the death of John Boucmel; but I acquit you of it, for it was no fault of yours, and, as God is my judge, if I had been in the situation you were in, you have done nothing more than I would have done, as it is better to hurt one’s enemy than to be hurt by him. Such is the fate of war.’

They then seated themselves at table, and these lords dined at their ease. After they had finished their repast, and drank their wine, the constable called the lord le Barrois des Barres, and said to him,—‘ Barrois, prepare yourself: I will that you conduct these Englishmen as far as Cherbourg, and that you have opened to them every town and castle, and have given to them whatever they shall be in need of.’ Le Barrois replied,—‘ My lord, I shall cheerfully obey your orders.’

The English then, taking leave of the constable and the knights with him, came to their lodgings, where every thing was packed up and ready. They mounted their horses, departed from château Joffelin, and rode straight to Pontorion and Mont

St.

St. Michel. They were under the escort of that gallant knight le Barrois des Barres, who never quitted them in Brittany or Normandy, until they had arrived in Cherbourg.

In this manner did the army of the earl of Buckingham quit France by sea and by land. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders during that period, and say how the men of Ghent behaved themselves, and how the earl of Flanders, their lord, persisted in continuing an oppressive and heavy war.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT.—
THE MEN OF GHENT AND OF YPRES ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE AMBUSCADES OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

TRUE it is, that the earl of Flanders at the beginning had very little dread of the Flemings and men of Ghent, imagining he could conquer them by little and little, both by reason and arms, since John Lyon and John Pruniaux were dead: but the men of Ghent had still able captains in whom wholly they trusted, and by whom they were governed; such as Raffe de Harzelle, captain of the

the castlewick of Ghent, and John de Launoy, captain of the men of Courtray. There were other captains; John Boule, Peter du Bois, Arnoul le Clerc and Peter la Nuitée.

At this period, there arose a contest between the grandes and populace of Bruges: the small handicraft trades there wished to act according to their own inclinations, which the richer sort would not suffer. This caused a rebellion, and great numbers of fullers and weavers lost their lives before the rest were appeased. The inhabitants sent information of all this to the earl, who resided at Lille, entreating of him, for the love of God, to come to them; for they acknowledged him as their lord, and were at that moment masters of the populace.

The earl of Flanders was pleased on hearing this intelligence: he set out from Lille, in company with sir William de Namur and a great number of knights and squires of Flanders, and came to Bruges, where he was received with great joy by the council. On the arrival of the earl at Bruges, all the leaders, and those who were even suspected to have similar intentions with the men of Ghent, were arrested and sent to prison, to the amount of five hundred, who in a short time were beheaded.

When those of the Franconate* learnt that the earl was quiet in Bruges, they began to be alarmed,

* Du Franc. That part of Flanders, in which the towns of Dunkirk, Bergues, Gravelines, Bombourg and Furnes are situated, is called the Franc, or the Franconate.

Note in *Memoires de l'Academie*, vol. x. p. 419.

and

and immediately threw themselves on the mercy of the earl, who pardoned them, to their great joy; for his power was daily increasing, and the inhabitants of the Franconate have been always more attached to their earl than all the rest of Flanders.

The earl, seeing himself master of Bruges and of the Franc, and that he had at his orders knights and squires from Hainault and Artois, thought he had now a good opportunity to recover his country and to punish the rebels: he therefore declared he would first pay a visit to Ypres. He hated them much for having so easily opened their gates to those of Ghent, and said that those who by treaty had admitted his enemies within the town, and slain his knights, should pay dearly for it, if he should gain the upper hand of them. He then issued his summons to the Franc and Bruges, for he was resolved to march to Ypres.

News was carried to Ypres, that the earl was preparing to attack them: they determined, in consequence, to send to Ghent to ask assistance; for they were not in sufficient strength to hold out without succours from that party, who had always promised to help them in their need. They sent secretly letters and messages to the captains in Ghent, to inform them of the situation of the earl, and his menaces of coming to attack them.

The men of Ghent considered themselves as bound by their faith and oaths to grant their request, and having called two captains, John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc, said to them,—‘ You will take three thousand of our men, and march in haste

to Ypres, to succour our good friends.' Soon after this order was given, the detachment marched from Ghent, and three thousand men arrived at Ypres, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

The earl of Flanders set out from Bruges with a large force, and came to Thorout: on the morrow to Poperingue, where they halted for three days, until his whole army was come up, which amounted to twenty thousand men.

The men of Ghent being informed of all these preparations, and that the earl was to march against Ypres with a powerful army, resolved to assemble their whole force, and take the road by Courtray to Ypres, when, by uniting with those of the last town, they might engage the earl's army; and, if they should once completely defeat him, he would never be able to recover the blow. In consequence of this determination, the following captains marched from Ghent: Rasse de Harzelle, Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, John de Launoy, with others, who were captains of hundreds or of fifties in the different parishes; and, when drawn out in the plain, they amounted to upwards of nine thousand men.

They marched for Courtray, where they were received with great joy, for John de Launoy was governor. The earl of Flanders, whose quarters were at Poperingue, heard how those of Ghent intended marching to Ypres, and that they were already at Courtray. Upon this, he called a council, and kept his army in a compact body. The ghent men who had come to Courtray marched from thence to Rousselaer, where they halted, and sent to inform those

those of Ypres of their arrival; and, if they would come forth with the troops they had sent to them, they should be in sufficient force to combat the earl.

The men of Ypres were delighted at this intelligence; and, having every inclination to do what had been requested, they fallied out in the morning, to the amount of eight thousand, under the command of John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc.

The earl, who was with his army in that district, got information, I know not by what means or by what accident, that the men of Ypres had marched to join those from Ghent: he therefore ordered two large ambuscades on a pass through which those from Ypres must march, under the command of his son, le Haze bastard of Flanders, and the lord d'Anghien: there were knights and squires from Hainault, Artois, Bruges and the Franconate, and in each ambuscade were ten thousand men.

When those of Ypres and the ghent men who had been sent thither under the command of John Boule were in the plains, and had marched about a league, they came to two roads; one of which led to Rouffelaer, and the other to Thorout: they halted, and asked which road they should take. Arnoul le Clerc, answering, said,—‘I would advise you to go and see our men who are at Rouffelaer.’ ‘By my troth,’ replied John Boule, ‘I think we shall be better lodged on Mont d’Or than any where else; for be assured I know so well Peter du Bois and Rasse de Harzelle that, since they have sent to us to say they intend to offer the earl battle, they will

will get as near to him as they can: I therefore think you should follow this road.' Arnoul le Clerc disputed, but John Boule insisted upon it, and made them follow his road.

When they had advanced about two leagues, and were almost tired, they fell into the midst of these two ambuscades, which when they perceived, they cried out, 'We are betrayed!' No people ever made so poor a defence as these did: they saved themselves as fast they could, some returning to Ypres, others flying over the fields, without any sort of order.

The earl's army had surrounded a great number, whom they slew without mercy: however, John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc saved themselves. The runaways who made for Courtray met their allies, who had set out from Rouffelaer, and were marching towards Rosebecque. When Peter du Bois and the other officers saw them in such a state, they demanded the reason of it, and what had happened: they replied, 'they could not tell; they had not had time to see what was the matter; but that they were flying, having been betrayed, and that the whole plain was covered with them.'

Peter du Bois was doubtful, whether to march back to cover the runaways, and to combat those who were thus chasing them, or to retreat with them to Courtray. All things considered, he was advised this time to retreat, as being the most advantageous: he therefore began his return in regular order, without quitting the road, and the same day came back to Courtray. The runaways took

took shelter there : the men of Ghent were quartered in the town, and placed strong guards at the gates to prevent any surprize.

When John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc were returned, and had counted their men, they found there had been slain of the men of Ghent, including those in the detachment sent to Ypres, twelve hundred ; and of those of Ypres as many, if not more. If the ambuscade had pursued those flying towards Ypres and Courtray, they must have been overtaken, and scarcely one would have escaped : but the giving up the pursuit, to slay those who had fallen into their hands, was the saving of many.

The inhabitants of Ypres were much cast down on seeing their men return defeated the very day they had marched, and asked how it could have happened. Some said, that John Boule had betrayed them, and led them thus to be slaughtered. You have often heard how difficult it is to appease the populace when once they are stirred up : I shall instance it by those of Ghent, for when they had returned thus defeated to Courtray, and heard that John Boule was in the town, they collected upwards of a thousand, bawling out ; ' Let us go seek that arch traitor John Boule, who has betrayed us ! for it was he and no other who would have us follow that road which led to the ambuscade. If we had believed Arnoul le Clerc, we should have escaped it ; for he wanted to conduct us straight to our men, and John Boule, who had sold and betrayed us, would march us where we have been tricked and defeated.' Now, observe how unjustly they

accuse him of treason, when I do not see that there was the least cause for it. Had it been, as they said, that he had sold and betrayed them, he would never have returned, but would have staid with the earl and his army. This, however, could not save him from being killed: the men of Ghent fought for him in his house, and, having found him, dragged him into the street, when he was torn in pieces, and as many as could, carried off a morsel. Such was the end of John Boule.

The next day, the men of Ghent departed from Courtray, and returned home. They sent John de Launoy to Gavre, a castle belonging to the earl, and situated on the Scheld, of which he took possession, and placed a garrison in it.

CHAP. L.

THE TOWNS OF YPRES AND COURTRAY TURN TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—GHENT IS BESIEGED.

WE will now return to the earl of Flanders and his army. When they had thus, by their ambuscades, defeated the men of Ghent, and had slain three thousand or thereabouts, including those of Ypres, the earl was advised to advance and lay siege to Ypres. This council he followed, and marched thither with a fine army of knights and squires

squires from Hainault, Artois and Flanders, who had come to serve under him. As soon as the citizens of Ypres learnt that the earl was on his march thither with such a force, they were greatly alarmed ; and the principal and richest inhabitants held a council, in which they resolved to open their gates, and go out to meet him, with offers to replace themselves under his obedience, trusting to his mercy. It was well known to him that they had allied themselves with Ghent through fear of the lower ranks, such as weavers, fullers and other ill-intentioned people of the town : they besides depended on his kind and merciful character for their pardon.

As they had resolved, so did they execute; and upwards of three hundred in a company went out of the town, carrying the keys of the gates with them. On meeting the earl of Flanders, they fell on their knees, and begged for mercy, saying, that they personally, and the whole town, resigned themselves to his will.

The earl took pity on them, made them rise, and granted them his pardon. He entered the town of Ypres with his whole army, and remained there for three weeks, sending back those of the Franc and of Bruges to their several towns. During his residence in Ypres, he had upwards of seven hundred weavers and fullers beheaded, and all those who had been any way concerned in admitting John Lyon and the ghent men into the town, who had slain the knights and men at arms whom he had

sent thither, and which had enraged him so much. To prevent them from again rebelling against him, he sent three hundred of the principal inhabitants to prison in Bruges, escorted by a handsome body of men at arms.

He then marched towards Courtray, in order to bring that town under his obedience. When the inhabitants heard this was his intention, and that he was on his way, having subjugated those of Ypres, they were much afraid, for they saw no appearance of any aid coming to them from Ghent: they therefore determined to surrender themselves amicably to their lord; for it was better to depend on the earl, to whom they owed fidelity, homage and loyalty, than on Ghent. Upon this, three hundred of the principal citizens assembled, and went out of the town on foot, to meet the earl, taking the keys with them. When the earl was near to pass them, they flung themselves on their knees, crying out to him for mercy. The earl, taking compassion on them, pardoned them, and made a joyful entry into the town, where every one paid him honour and reverence. He arrested about two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he sent to Lille and to Douay, as hostages for the town.

When he had continued at Courtray six days, he returned to Bruges; where, having repos'd himself for a fortnight, he issued a grand summons for his vassals to attend him at the siege of Ghent, for at this time all Flanders was dependant on him. He left

left Bruges with a numerous army to lay siege to Ghent, and fixed his quarters at a place called la Briete.

Sir Robert de Namur came thither to serve him, with a large body of men at arms, according to his letters and orders: but sir William de Namur could not coine, for he was at the time in France with the king and duke of Burgundy.

It was about the feast of the decollation of St. John that the siege of Ghent was commenced. Sir Walter, lord of Anghien, was marshal of the army of Flanders: he was young, bold, enterprising, and fearles of whatever dangers or perils might befall him.

Notwithstanding the earl of Flanders was before Ghent with so numerous an army, he could not prevent the town from having two or three gates open, by which means all sorts of provision entered without danger. The Brabanters and Liegeois were very favourable to them, more particularly the citizens of Brussels. The Liegeois wrote to them to keep up their spirits,—‘ Good men of Ghent, we are well aware that at this present you have enough to do; that you are hard pushed by the earl your lord, and by the gentry and the rest of the country, which we are extremely sorry for; know, that if you were only five or six leagues from our frontiers, we would send that succour which ought to be given to good brothers, friends and neighbours; but you are too far from us, and the country of Brabant lies between, which is the cause that prevents us. Now, if you should be besieged

sieged at this moment, do not be cast down; for God knows, and all the principal towns, that you have justice on your side in this war, which must make your labours more effective.' Thus did the citizens of Liege write to those of Ghent, in order to comfort them.

The earl of Flanders had invested Ghent on the sides towards Bruges and Courtray; but on those towards Brussels and les Quatre Mestiers*, he could not, on account of the Scheld and Lys. I may therefore say, every thing considered, that Ghent is one of the strongest places in the world; it would be necessary to have two hundred thousand men, if any one wished to block up all the passes; besides, the armies ought to be near the rivers, or, in time of need, they would not be able to co-operate with each other; for Ghent is very populous, and full of determined men. They found, on numbering the inhabitants at this time, they had eighty thousand men, all fit for bearing arms, under sixty and above fifteen years.

When the earl had been before Ghent about a month, and his men under the lord d'Anghien, le Haze his son, with the young sénéchal of Hainault, had had various skirmishes with those of Ghent, in which sometimes they won, and at others lost, as in such cases will happen, he was advised to send the

* The territory comprehended under the name of Le Quatre Mestiers, was formerly subject to the bishop of Utrecht, and contained thirty villages. Hulce, Axele, Bocholle and Assenede are the four principal towns: the two last are not inclosed with walls.—*Blequ's Atque.*

men from Bruges, Ypres and Poperingue, on an expedition to a place called Longpont, the conquest of which would be highly advantageous; for by this they could enter the Quatre Mestiers, and then approach Ghent as near as they pleased.

Those who had been ordered on this expedition were drawn up, and a very valiant and prudent knight, called sir Josse de Haluin, was nominated commander: with him were very many knights and squires, but sir Josse was the chief. When they arrived at Longpont, they did not find it defenceless, but garrisoned with a great number of men at arms: Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée and Raffe de Harzelle were there in front. The skirmish was severe; for, on the arrival of the detachment from the earl, they began on both sides to shoot from cannons and cross-bows, which slew and wounded many. The men of Ghent behaved too well, for they drove back their enemies, and took by force the banner of the goldsmith's company of Bruges, which they flung into the river and besmeared with filth. There were, of this goldsmith's company and of many others, numbers slain and wounded: in particular, sir Josse de Haluin was killed, which was a great pity. So valiantly did the ghent men behave that those who had been sent to Longpont returned discomfited.

CHAP. LII.

THE EARL OF FLANDERS RAISES THE SIEGE OF GHENT.—HE DEFEATS A GREAT PART OF THE ARMY OF GHENT, THROUGH THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF RASSE DE HARZELLE, NEAR TO NEVELE.

DURING the siege of Ghent by the earl of Flanders, there were numerous skirmishes before the city. The lord d'Anghien, the sénéchal of Hainault and le Haze de Flanders never ransomed those whom they fell in with unprotected in the plains; and sometimes they were forced to retreat in such a hurry as not to have time to look behind them.

Six thousand well-appointed men were drawn up in the city, and put under the command of Rasse de Harzelle, Arnoul le Clerc and John de Launoy: they marched from Ghent without any fear of the army, and took the road to Aloft, which was then a good town and well inclosed, in which the earl had placed a garrison of several knights. They, on hearing of this intended attack, made off, through the gate leading to Brussels, in haste, otherwise they would have been slain. The ghent men burnt every thing, even the gates, and gained great pillage.

They then marched to Dendremonde, which is a strong

strong town, but they took it by storm. Sir Philip de Namur was there killed. The men of Ghent were masters of the town, but not of the castle; for the lord de Widescot and his companions held it out valiantly against them.

The ghent army went next to Gramont, which had lately turned to the earl, through the entreaty and negotiation of the lord d'Anghien. I know not whether by treachery or not, but the ghent men entered it, and very many of the inhabitants were slain.

After these exploits, they returned to Ghent with a great booty.

When the earl of Flanders considered that, beside losing his time, he was at a vast expense in this siege, and that he and his army were suffering greatly, and also that he could not prevent the ghent men from sallying forth and burning the country; that lately they had conquered Dendremont and Gramont; he resolved to break up the siege and depart, for winter was approaching. He marched away, and sent his men to their different homes to recruit themselves. He ordered the lord d'Anghien and the lord de Montigny to garrison Oudenarde: they had, besides men at arms, two hundred english archers, on whom they placed great dependance. With regard to the earl, he went to Bruges. The lords who were in Oudenarde made several sallies against those of Ghent; and there were frequent skirmishes, for they were almost constantly in the field, so that none could carry

provision

provision or merchandise to Ghent, without risk of being taken.

When winter was over, and the month of April arrived, the earl assembled his army, having sent for those of Ypres, Courtray, Poperingue, Damme, Sluys and the Franconate: he marched from Bruges and came to Nevele, where he remained some time. While there, he appointed the lord d'Anghien again commander in chief of all the men at arms, comprehending those of Lille, Douay and Oudenarde.

The earl's army was full twenty thousand men: they prepared to march to Gavre, where John de Launoy resided, who, on receiving intelligence of this, sent off directly to Ghent, to inform Raffe de Harzelle that he must send him immediate reinforcements, for the army of the earl had taken the field. Raffe de Harzelle instantly collected six thousand men, and marched to Gavre: he did not find John de Launoy, but overtook him at Deynse, where he was pillaging the country on the other side of the river. They then, having united their forces, marched that day together, and fell in with those from Oudenarde and Deynse who were going to join the earl, whom they immediately attacked, and slew at least six hundred of them. The lord d'Anghien was not present: he had gone before to the earl, who was with his army between Deynse and Bruges.

When news was brought to the earl, and to the lord d'Anghien, that the men of Oudenarde had been

been so roughly treated, they were much vexed; the lord d'Anghien was ordered to march with four thousand men towards Gavre, where they expected to find John de Launoy; but he had retreated to Ghent with his pillage and prisoners, of whom, indeed, he had no great number. On the morrow, he and Raffe de Harzelle marched out with ten thousand men; and, though the earl was not come to Gayre, they were anxious to surround him.

The same day that Raffe de Harzelle had marched from Ghent, Peter du Bois made a fallay also with six thousand men, accompanied by Arnoul le Clerc: they burnt the suburbs of Courtray, and then retreated towards Deynse, in order to fall in with their townsmen; but it was too late, for, when Raffe de Harzelle and John de Launoy were come to Nevele, they perceived the earl with his whole army in the plain: thus did these two armies find themselves in sight of each other, without either of them suspecting it in the morning.

When Raffe de Harzelle and John de Launoy saw a battle was inevitable, they were not cast down, but drew up their men in three battalions; in each battalion were two thousand men, all bold and hardy, and the best soldiers in Ghent.

Peter du Bois and Arnoul le Clerc had an equal number of men, who, though in the country, were ignorant of this meeting, or that their friends were about to engage. When they left Ghent, they had entered into an agreement, that if either party should meet the earl, they were not to fight without the other; for they were not separately of sufficient strength,

strength, but, when united, they were able to engage with three times their number: this they had sworn to Peter du Bois they would adhere to; and to say the truth, if Raffe had wished it, he might easily have delayed the combat, for he had only to keep himself in the town of Nevele to wait for Peter du Bois, and the earl would never there have fought him: but the moment Raffe de Harzelle saw the army of the earl, through pride and self-sufficiency, he took the field, saying to himself that he would offer battle to his enemies, and reap all the honour, without waiting for Peter du Bois or the others. He had great confidence in his men, and such hopes in the good fortune of Ghent that he thought he could not be defeated; and he manifested that day his willingness to engage, as I shall presently relate to you.

Greatly was the earl rejoiced when he saw Raffe de Harzelle march out of Nevele to the plain to fight. He immediately ordered his men to be drawn up in proper order: his infantry were about twenty thousand, able men, and about fifteen hundred lances, knights and squires, from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and Artois. Among those from Hainault were the lord d'Anghien, marshal of the army, and, in his company, the lord de Montigny, the bastard of Anghien, Giles de Riscon, Hutin de Lay, the lord of Lens, sir John de Berlaminont and several more. From Flanders were, the lord de Guistelles, sir Guy de Guistelles, the lord des Cornets, the lord de Hallue, the lord de Haluin, sir Daniel de Haluin, sir Thierry de Disquetane, sir

John

John d'Escoumbouc, the lord de Gentus, sir John de Vilain, sir Gerard de Marquellies and many others. Several new knights were also made. The young sénéchal of Hainault had died in his bed some time before, from the bruise he had received at Aubiez, near Mortaigne, for he had been in that affair.

The earl formed his army in five battalions, and in each there were about five thousand men, eager for the attack : the lord de Lieureghien bore that day the earl's banner. In this manner they advanced on the enemy, five battalions to three ; but at the commencement only three battalions of the earl's army engaged, the other two were on the wings to support those who might be broken. The earl was present, exhorting his men to behave well, and to revenge themselves on the madmen of Ghent who had given them so much trouble ; he said to the citizens from the chief towns,—‘ Be assured, should you fly, you would more certainly be put to death than if you stood your ground ; for I will have you all beheaded without mercy.’ The earl posted the men of Bruges in the first battalion, those of the *Franç* in the second, those of Ypres and Courtray in the third, and those of Poperingue, Cassel, Bergues and Bourbourg in the fourth battalion : he had retained those of Oudenaarde, Lille and Douay near his person.

The armies kept advancing toward each other. Rasse de Harzelle led the first battalion, for it was composed of the most determined men of the three, and because he was anxious to be the first to begin

the

the combat, and to gain honour if it were possible : he attacked that of Bruges, which the lord de Guistelles and his brothers commanded. There was great pushing and fighting at the commencement. In another part, the other battalions engaged, when many were beat down at the onset. The ghent men behaved very gallantly ; but the army of the earl was too numerous for them.

The battle was sharp, and lasted some time, so that it was long before it was seen which had the advantage. All the battalions were intermixed ; and on one side they shouted out, ‘ Flanders for the Lion !’ to cheer their men : on the other, they cried as loudly, ‘ Ghent, Ghent !’ There was a moment when the earl was in danger of losing all ; and, if he had then given way, they would all have been slain and defeated beyond a remedy : for Peter du Bois, with full six thousand men, was in the plain, and clearly saw the combat, but he could not give any assistance to his townsmen for the extensive marshes which were between him and the armies : but, had the earl lost the day, or his men fled through panic, he knew well that Peter du Bois would have fallen upon them, and none would have escaped death, not even himself ; which would have been such a loss as Flanders never would have recovered.

Raffe de Harzelle and John de Launoy had not long the advantage in this combat, for the earl had a number of valiant knights, besides the men from Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, Damme, Sluys, the Frans and Bruges, who, when assembled together, amounted

amounted to near twenty thousand then, being four times the number of their enemies. The ghent men, unable to withstand them, were thrown into disorder, and retreated into the town. Upon this, the knights and squires advanced, and, breaking their ranks, put them in confusion, and killed them in heaps. The men of Ghent retired towards the church of Nevele, which was strong ; and, having collected themselves there, a hard battle ensued, and great slaughter was made of them. John de Launoy, like one distracted, rushed into the church, and posted himself, and as many men as he could, in the large tower of the steeple. Rasse de Harzelle remained behind, and, with his men, performed many valorous deeds at the door of the church ; but at last he was overpowered, and pierced with a spear, which instantly killed him.

Thus ended Rasse de Harzelle, who had been a great commander of the ghent men against the earl : he was much beloved by his townsmen for his good sense and prowess ; but this was his recompense at last for all his valour.

When the earl of Flanders arrived at the square before the church, and saw that the ghent men had retreated into it, he ordered the church to be set on fire : his order was obeyed, and a fire was kindled with great quantities of straw and fagots, which they placed all round the church. The flames soon ascended to the roof, when the ghent men perished miserably ; for they were sure of being burnt if they staid in the church, and if they

they falled out, they were slain and cast back into the fire.

John de Launoy, who was in the steeple, perceiving himself at the point of death, and that he must soon be burnt, for the steeple was beginning to take fire, cried out to those below, ' Ransom, ransom!' and offered his coat, which was full of florins; but they laughed at and mocked him, saying,—' John, come and speak to us through these windows, and we will receive you. Make a handsome leap, John, such as you have forced our friends to take this year: you must make this leap.' John de Launoy, finding his situation desperate, and the fire so fast approaching that he must be burnt, grew enraged, and preferred being slain to being burnt. Both happened to him; for he leaped out of the windows in the midst of his enemies, who received him on their spears; and, after hacking him to pieces, he was flung into the flames. Thus finished John de Launoy.

CHAP. LII.

PETER DU BOIS WITH THE REMAINDER OF HIS ARMY RETIRE TO GHENT.—AFTER HAVING BEEN IN DANGER OF HIS LIFE, HE BESIEGES COURTRAY.

Of the six thousand men, of which the army at least consisted, that Raffe de Harzelle and John de Launoy had brought from Ghent or that neighbourhood, or who were serving the men of Ghent for pay and had been marched thither, there did not escape more than three hundred: the rest were slain in the field or in the town, or had been burnt in the church. Peter du Bois, notwithstanding he had a fine army, could not give them the smallest assistance, on account of the marshes and stagnant waters which were between him and the earl's army.

He marched away with his men drawn up in order of battle, saying to them,—‘ Come, let us proceed slowly towards Ghent. Raffe de Harzelle and John de Launoy have had very bad success: they are defeated. I know not what may happen to us, if we should be pursued, and attacked by the earl's army: let us keep in a body and combat boldly, as good men should do when they fight for

their rights.' Those who heard him answered, ' We will do so.' They then departed, taking the road towards Ghent, in a close well formed battalion.

Some of the runaways who had escaped from the battle of Nevele returned to Ghent, which they entered quite frightened, like defeated men, and related their discomfiture, telling how Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had been slain and their army lost. The citizens were much dejected at this ill news, and sorry for the loss of Rasse, for they had found him a good captain and true to their interests: he was much beloved, and great confidence was placed in him, because he was of a noble family, and had served them faithfully for their money.

They asked the runaways,—' Tell us where was Peter du Bois all the time of the combat?' They who had neither seen nor heard any intelligence of him replied, ' We have not seen him, nor do we know any thing about him.' Upon this, several began to murmur, saying, that Peter du Bois had behaved very ill, for not having been present at this battle, he who had six thousand men under his command completely armed.

Those who governed Ghent therefore resolved, as soon as Peter du Bois should return, to kill him, and then make peace with the earl their lord, throwing themselves on his mercy. I believe, that if they had done so, they would have acted well, and peace would easily have been made. But they changed their resolution, for which afterwards they

they paid severely, as did the whole country of Flanders.

Affairs at that time were not so bad as they afterwards became, nor the great distress of Flanders at its height, as I shall hereafter relate.

After the defeat of Raffe de Harzelle and John de Launoy, the earl of Flanders was informed, that Peter du Bois with an army of ghent men were in the field, and on their march to that city. The earl halted, and called a council, in which he demanded from his knights whether he should not pursue them and offer battle: they replied, that he had done enough that day; that his men were tired, and that it was proper they should have some rest; but that he would do well to send off five or six hundred men at arms, to observe their motions, for they might perhaps fix their quarters in such a situation that they could come up with them at their dislodging. The earl approved of this advice, and followed it: those who were to be of this detachment were directly ordered out, and the lord d'Anghien was appointed to the command.

About five hundred lances being mounted, they marched off from Nevele, and followed bye-roads, in order to come up with the ghent men: they proceeded so far that they at last saw them descend a small hill: they were in a compact body, and in good order, marching at a good pace toward Ghent.

The lord d'Anghien and his detachment followed them some time on their flank. Peter du

Bois and his men saw them plainly, though they made not any appearance of being discomposed by it. Peter du Bois said,—‘ Let us continue our road with a good step, without breaking our ranks; if they attack us, we will receive them, but I do not believe they have any such intentions.’

Thus each party marched on, without doing any thing, as far as Ghent, when the lord d'Anghien returned to the earl, and Peter du Bois with his men entered the town. Peter du Bois was very badly received, and on the point of being killed, for not having exerted himself to assist Raffe de Harzelle. Peter exculpated himself, saying truly, ‘ that he had sent orders to Raffe not to engage with the earl on any account, without being joined by him, for that the earl was in too great force; but that Raffe had done quite the contrary: that if bad success had attended him, he could not by any means be blamed: that he was as much grieved for the death of Raffe as any one, for the town of Ghent had lost a valiant man and good captain. It will therefore be necessary for you to choose another, one who has a good reputation and will be feared; who is bold, wise and prudent; or otherwise put yourselves under the obedience of the earl, who will destroy us all, by wickedly and cruelly putting us to a shameful death. Now, consider what you will do: either persevere in what you have begun and carried on for so long a time, or throw yourselves on the mercy of my lord the earl of Flanders.’

None made any answer to this speech of Peter du

du Bois; but, with regard to the event of the battle of Nevele and the death of Rasse, he was acquitted. He was, however, much dissatisfied that no one replied to his speech; particularly with some of the principal and richest citizens of Ghent then present, such as sir Guisebert Grote and sir Simon Bete. He at the time did not shew his resentment; but in the course of the year, they severely experienced its effects, as you will hear related.

The lord d'Anghien, the lord de Montigny and the Haze de Flanders, returned with their men to the earl, and related all they had seen. The earl set off from Nevele, and went to Bruges: he dismissed his army to their different towns, and sent those of the Franc, with the lord d'Anghien and the banners, to Oudenarde.

The men of Ghent, on hearing that the earl had disbanded his army and retired to Bruges, began to be in motion, by the instigation of Peter du Bois, who said to them; 'Come, let us take the field, and not be cool in carrying on this war, but shew we are men of courage and enterprize.' Upwards of fifteen thousand marched out of Ghent, and came before Courtray, to which they laid siege during the time of the feast and procession at Bruges in the year 1381. They remained there for ten days, and burnt the suburbs of Courtray, with all the surrounding country. When the earl heard of this, he remanded all his gentlemen, and the garrisons and commonalty of Ypres and the Franc, and marched from Bruges with upward of

twenty-five thousand men, taking the road to Courtray, with intentions of combating the ghent army and raising the siege.

Peter du Bois, on receiving intelligence of the earl's march and strength, thought it best not to continue the siege: he decamped, and went to Deynse and Nevele, where his army quartered themselves, giving out they would there wait for the earl: at the same time, they signified their situation to their townsmen, who ordered out the reserve, that they might have a superior force of men at arms. Fifteen thousand more men therefore marched from Ghent to their army quartered at Deynse and Nevele, where they encamped in the plain.

When the earl arrived at Harlebecque, near Courtray, he heard the ghent men had retreated towards Ghent, and were quartered at Deynse and Nevele. He did not think proper to pursue them at that time, but dismissed great part of his army at Courtray, and sent the lord d'Anghien and the Hainaulters, with his bastard son the Haze, to Oudenarde in garrison.

CHAP. LIII.

ARNOUL LE CLERC, CAPTAIN OF SOME TROOPS OF
WHITE HOODS, DEFEATS SEVERAL OF THE EARL
OF FLANDERS' NOBILITY.—HE HIMSELF IS AFTER-
WARDS DEFEATED AND SLAIN.

WHEN Peter du Bois and the Ghent army found that it was not the earl's intention to advance against them, they departed from Deynse and Nevele, and took a roundabout road towards Oudenarde, on their return to Ghent. The day they passed Oudenarde, they detached a body from the army, under the command of Arnoul le Clerc, who advanced as far as the barriers of the town to skirmish. The knights and squires within could not resist combating with them, so that many were slain and wounded on both sides. But those from Ghent did not continue the skirmish long: they returned to Ghent with their men, when each retired to his own house.

Three days after, Arnoul le Clerc marched to Gavre with about twelve hundred white hoods; and the castle and castlewick were garrisoned, to keep in check those in Oudenarde. Arnoul le Clerc had not been there long before he was informed that some knights and squires had fallen out of Oudenarde

narde in search of adventures, namely, the lord de Cornais, the lord de Remselles, sir John de Villaines, the lord d'Anghien, le Gallois de Mamines, the bastard de Cornais and sir Blanchard de Calemie. He therefore formed an ambuscade, and as these knights were on their return to Oudenarde, he fell upon them, when several were slain, for mercy was shewn to none. The horses of the knights were brought very opportunely, when they made the best of their way to Oudenarde; on their arrival at the barriers, they dismounted and put themselves in a posture of defence, waiting for their men and servants; but, before they could re-enter the town, they had left upwards of sixty dead on the field.

Arnoul le Clerc, having performed this enterprise, marched that day to a monastery near Berchem: he found that Pierre d'Estonnehoux and Gallois de Mamines, with about a hundred of their companions, had retreated into the town of Berchem: he therefore immediately attacked the monastery whither they had retired. Gallois de Mamines with difficulty escaped from the back part of it, and having entered a boat, came by night to Oudenarde, when he related to the lord d'Anghien, the lord de Montigny, sir Daniel de Halluyn and the other knights who were there, how Arnoul le Clerc, with the white hoods, had forced the monastery of Berchem, and slain their companions; that he thought Pierre d'Estonnehoux was killed; as indeed he was, for Arnoul le Clerc and his men had made him leap out of a window, when he was received

received on the points of their spears and slain, which was a great loss.

The knights in Oudernarde, on hearing that Arnoul le Clerc with about twelve hundred white hoods were quartered in Berchem ; that their companions were slain and the monastery taken ; were very indignant, and determined to send off in the night spies to observe whether they would march on the morrow. The spies reported, that the white hoods had fixed on Berchem for their quarters, which much pleased these noblemen.

The lords d'Anghien, de Montigny, de Bresueil, sir Michael de la Hamarde, with upwards of six hundred knights and squires from Hainault, immediately armed themselves ; as did a like number from Flanders. Three hundred spears were in Oudenarde, with upwards of one thousand cross-bows and stout varlets. They marched to Berchem, and, when near that place, they sent forward sir Oliver de Chem, with full one hundred lances, to begin the attack, and to draw Arnoul le Clerc out of the monastery, as well as to give time for the cross-bows and stout varlets, who were on foot, to come up and be properly arranged.

Sir Daniel and sir Peter de Disquemac and the Haze de Flanders, spurring their horses, entered the space before the monastery full gallop, crying out, ' Flanders for the Lion ! Flanders for the Bastard ! ' The ghent men, not suspecting an ambuscade, for it was early morn, were not dressed, so that before Arnoul le Clerc could collect his men, the lord d'Anghien, the lord Lens, the lord de

de Bresueil, the lord de Cornais, the lord de Montigny, entered the back part of the town, with the army, crying out, 'D'Anghien for the lord!' and attacked the ghent white hoods with so much vigour that they could not withstand them, but, breaking their ranks, were thrown into disorder; and, of the twelve hundred, eleven hundred were slain in the monastery, in the town and fields. Arnoul le Clerc was also killed, as he was running away, by two pikes being thrust through him, which fastened him to a hedge.

After this defeat, the lord d'Anghien with the other knights returned to Oudenarde; esteeming this enterprize a deed of great prowes. The news of it greatly pleased the earl of Flanders, who told the lord d'Anghien that he was a handsome and good child, and in time would be a most valiant man. To say the truth, the lord d'Anghien was the glory of the earl of Flanders, who at that time resided at Bruges, and who did not call him cousin, but fair son.

CHAP. LIV.

**DURING THIS WAR, THE RICH CITIZENS OF
GHENT ARE SUBJUGATED BY THEIR SOLDIERS.**

**—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS MADE GOVERNOR
OF GHENT.**

WHEN the news was carried to Ghent that Arnoul le Clerc was slain, and his men defeated, many began to take alarm, and to say among themselves, ‘Our affairs go on very badly: by degrees, they will kill all our captains and men: we have done ill to make this war upon the earl our lord, for by little and little he will destroy us: The hatreds of Gilbert Matthew and John Lyon are now falling upon us, and we have too long followed the opinions of John Lyon and Peter du Bois: they have driven us into this war, and brought on us the hatred of our lord to such a degree that we shall never be admitted to mercy, nor obtain a peace. It will be better that twenty or thirty should suffer than a whole city.’

This was the conversation of several when together in private, from their dread of the ill-intentioned who were of another way of thinking, and were daily adding to their power, though at the beginning they were but poor workmen scarcely worth a groat. They had now plenty of gold and silver;

silver; for, when in want, they complained to their leaders, who willingly listened to them, and gave them advice by pointing out to them the richest men in the town and saying,—‘Go to such and such persons, and tell them we want to speak to them.’ They directly went, and those they sought were afraid to refuse following them. On their arrival, they were told the good town of Ghent was in want of money to pay their soldiers, who were aiding to guard and preserve their rights and franchises, and that it was necessary the workmen should live.

They raised instantly among themselves the sum demanded; for, had they refused, they would have been put to death, on pretence of being traitors to the good town of Ghent, and indifferent to its honour or profit.

Thus did these wicked people become masters of the town, and continued so as long as the war lasted against their lord. In truth, if the rich men and nobility of the town were beaten by such rods, one cannot pity, nor any way excuse them, for they were the primary cause of all this mischief. When the earl of Flanders sent thither his bailiff to do justice on some wicked persons, could they not have remained steady and have assisted him in this act, seeing the rebels were then in very small numbers? But it appeared they were quite indifferent whether the affair turned out well or ill, or if they had war or peace. They must have been sensible, that if they made war on their lord, the ill-intentioned would be their masters and lords of the town, and that they could not turn them out when they pleased.

pleased. It would happen to them as to John de la Faucille, who, by dissembling and quitting the town of Ghent to live in Hainault, imagined he should be clear of all the wars in Flanders, as well as of those against his lord by the town of Ghent, of which he was a native, and that nothing would be required from him : but in this he was mistaken, so that it caused his death ; which was a pity, for John de la Faucille was in his time a wise and able man. But in those days none could trim between the lords and the townsmen, for they were too clear fighted ; and though he knew how to advise others very well, yet in regard to himself he managed things badly.

I do not know, for a truth, if he were guilty of all the charges on which he was examined by sir Simon Rain in the castle of Lille, but his judges, with his adverse fortune, turned against him, so that he died : and thus it happened to all the leaders in Ghent, and those who encouraged them in their rebellion against their lord. Many others of Ghent perished, who I hope were blameless.

When Peter du Bois saw Ghent thus weakened in her captains and soldiers, and deserted by her allies ; that the principal inhabitants began to tire ; he suspected they would readily give up the war, but that, whatever peace or treaty they should enter into with the earl, there would not be any possibility for him to save his life. He therefore called to his recollection John Lyon, who had been his master, and with what art he had worked : he saw plainly he could not do every thing himself, not having sufficient

sufficient weight nor knowledge to govern the town ; neither did he wish for the principal command, being solely desirous of leading every mad enterprize : he, in consequence, turned his thoughts to a man, of whom the city of Ghent had not any suspicions, one of sufficient prudence, though his abilities were unknown, for until that day they had not paid any attention to him : his name was Philip von Artaveld, son of Jacob von Artaveld, who had ruled over all Flanders for seven years.

Peter du Bois had heard it related by his master, John Lyon, and the old people of Ghent, that the whole country was never so well governed, feared, loved and honoured as during the time of Jacob von Artaveld's reign, which lasted for seven years : the inhabitants added, that if Jacob von Artaveld were alive, things would not be in the state they are now in : they should have a peace according to their wishes, and the earl would be too happy to forgive them.

These words made an impression on Peter du Bois : he recollect ed that Jacob von Artaveld had left a son called Philip, a handsome and agreeable man, to whom the queen of England, when she was at Gheat and during the time of the siege of Tournay, had stood godmother, and who, from respect to her, had been christened Philip. Peter du Bois came one evening to Philip's house, who resided with his mother, maintaining themselves honourably on their rents. Peter, having arranged in his own mind what he should say, thus opened the matter and the cause of his coming : 'If you will

will listen to me, and follow my advice, I will make you the greatest man in Flanders.' 'How will you do this?' replied Philip. 'I will tell you how,' said Peter: you shall have the sole government of Ghent; for we are at this moment in the utmost want of a leader of a good name and fair character: by this means we shall rouse the men of Ghent through remembrance of your father's fame; for every one says that Flanders was never so flourishing, nor so much feared, as during his lifetime. I will easily place you, if you be willing, in his situation; and, when there, you will govern according to my advice until you shall find yourself master of the business, which you will soon acquire.'

Philip, who was arrived at manhood and naturally wished to advance himself in honour and wealth more than he then possessed, replied,— 'Peter, you offer me great things; and, if I be placed in the situation you say, I swear on my faith, that I will never act without your advice.'

Peter asked,— 'Can you be cruel and proud? for a great man among the commonalty, and in particular among such as we shall have to do with, will not be thought any thing worth if he be not feared and dreaded, and at times renowned for his cruelty. It is thus the Flemings wish to be governed; and, among them, mens lives should be no more valued, nor should they have more pity shewn of them, than swallows or larks, which are caught in the proper season for the table.'

'By my troth,' answered Philip, 'I know well how to act this part.' 'All then goes well,' said Peter.

Peter. ‘You are just such a one as I want, and the chief I look for.’ On saying this, he took leave and departed to his own house. Night passed, and day returned, when Peter du Bois went to a square where there were upwards of four thousand of his followers and others, assembled to hear the news, to discuss how matters ought to be carried on, and who should be governor of the town.

The lord de Harzelle was there, who chiefly conducted the affairs of Ghent, but he would not undertake to do any thing out of the town: some named him for governor: others were also nominated. Peter, who was listening attentively, having heard many names, raised his voice and said; ‘Gentlemen, I have paid every attention to all you have said, and firmly believe you have been induced, through your love and affection for the honour and wealth of the town of Ghent, to propose such who are worthy to have a share in the government of this city; but I know one who in no way is thinking of it, and if he would undertake the government, there could not be any one found of greater abilities, nor of a more propitious name.’ Peter du Bois was called upon to name him, which he did by saying, ‘it was Philip von Artaveld, who was christened at the font of St. Peter’s in Ghent by that noble queen of England, Philippa, who was his godmother, at the time when his father, Jacob von Artaveld, was at the siege of Tournay with the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the duke of Gueldres and the earl of Hainault; which Jacob von Artaveld, his father, governed the

the town of Ghent and the country of Flanders better than has ever been done since, from all I hear from those inhabitants who have it strong in their memories : Flanders had been for some time lost, if through his sense and good fortune he had not regained it. Now, it behoves us to love the branches from such a valiant man, in preference to any other person.' No sooner had Peter du Bois done speaking than the idea of Philip von Artaveld filled every one's mind, and encouraged them so much that they unanimously cried out; 'Let him be fought for : we will not have any one but him for our governor.' 'No, no,' said Peter du Bois : 'we will not send for him : it will be much better we go to his house, for we do not at present know how he will take it. We ought not by any means to suffer him to excuse himself from accepting it.'

At these words, those present took the road to Philip's house, followed by many others who had been informed of their intentions. When they arrived there, the lord de Harzelle, Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, and about ten or twelve of the principal tradesmen, addressed him, saying, 'that the good town of Ghent was in the greatest danger for want of a chief, with whom alliances might be formed both at home and abroad, and that all ranks of people in Ghent had given him their voices and chosen him to be their sovereign; for the good remembrance of his name, and the love they had borne to his father, made him more agreeable to them than any one else. For which reasons they entreated him affectionately to take on him the go-

vernment of the town, with the management of their affairs both within and without, and they would swear to him obedience and loyalty as completely as to their lord. They likewise engaged to bring every one, how great foever he might be, under his obedience.'

Philip, after hearing every thing they had to say, made the following prudent reply : ' Gentlemen, you require great things from me; and I should imagine you have not weighed the matter so maturely as it ought to have been, when you offer me the government of Ghent. You say, the affection your ancestors had for my father has been your great inducement : when he had performed for them every service in his power, they murdered him. If I should accept the government in the manner you request, and be afterwards murdered, I shall gain but a miserable recompence.'

' Philip,' said Peter du Bois, who caught at these words which seemed to make his choice doubtful; ' what has passed cannot now be amended : you will act from the advice of your council, and by thus continuing you will ever be so well advised that all mankind shall praise you.'

Philip answered ; ' I should never wish to act otherwise.'

They then elected him ; and, conducting him to the market-place, he was there sworn into office. The mayors, sheriffs and rulers of companies were also sworn to obey him.

In this manner was Philip von Artaveld made sovereign of Ghent. He acquired great popularity

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at the commencement ; for he spoke to every one who had any busines with him politely and prudently, so that he was beloved by all. He gave a part of the revenues which the earl of Flanders had in Ghent as his inheritance to the lord de Harzelle, out of affection to him, and to enable him the better to support his rank ; for he had lost every thing he possessed without the walls of the town.

We will now for a time leave these affairs of Flanders, and speak of those of England and Portugal.

CHAP. LV.

A WAR BETWEEN THE KINGS OF CASTILLE AND PORTUGAL.

YOU have before heard related the death of king Henry of Castille, and that his eldest son, don John, was crowned in his stead. His queen also, who was daughter to king Peter of Arragon, was crowned with him. A war broke out between king Ferdinand of Portugal and the king of Castille on certain disputes between them ; but principally on account of the two daughters of Peter king of Castille, who were married in England ; the eldest, Constance, to the duke of Lancaster, and Isabella to the earl of Cambridge. The king of Portugal

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declared, that it was unjust and illegal in the king of Castille to disinherit, without cause, his two cousins ; and that it was not becoming that two noble ladies of such high birth should be disinherited from their rights : it was also improper that this affair should become old and forgotten, so that these ladies would never be able to regain their possessions : that for him, who was one of the nearest relations they had, he would never consent to it, both for the love of God and his desire to maintain justice, to which every good Christian should incline.

He sent therefore his defiance to the king of Castille, whom all Spain had crowned ; and the king of Portugal made war upon him for the reasons above mentioned. Don John defended himself valiantly, and ordered to the frontiers and to his garrisons numbers of men at arms, to oppose his enemies, so that he lost nothing at the breaking out of hostilities. He had with him some of the ablest and most prudent of french chivalry, who assisted him greatly by their arms and advice ; such as the bague de Villaines, sir Peter his son, sir John de Bergettes, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Puissac, the lord de la Tande, sir John and sir Tristram de Roye, and many more, who had gone to Spain on the departure of the earl of Buckingham from Brittany ; for the king of France, who had great connections and of a long standing with the king of Castille, had sent them thither.

The king of Portugal, on finding this, thought it advisable to send ambassadors to England to the king

king and his uncles, to request succours from them, that he might be able to carry on a successful war against the king of Castille. He called to him one of his knights, a valiant and prudent man, as well as a great lord, called John Ferrande, and told him his intentions in these words : ‘ John, you will carry these credential letters to England. I cannot send thither a more able ambassador than yourself, nor one who is better informed of all my affairs : you will therefore commend me to the king; on presenting these letters, and let him know that I am supporting the rights of my cousins, his aunts, for their inheritance of Castille and Spain ; and that I have already waged war against him, who, through the influence of France, has taken possession of it ; but that I am not sufficiently strong in myself, nor have I resources to oppose him, nor to conquer such heritages as Castille, Galicia and Seville. For which reason, I entreat him to send me his fair uncle the duke of Lancaster, with his wife and daughter, my cousins, and a number of men at arms and archers. On their arrival hither, we will carry on such a war, if it should please God, that we will recover their inheritances.’

‘ My lord,’ replied the knight, ‘ with pleasure will I carry your message.’ He was not long before he embarked on board a strong vessel fit for the voyage, and sailed from the harbour of Lisbon ; when, having favourable winds, he arrived at Plymouth the same day and same tide that the earl of Buckingham returned thither, with part of his fleet, from Brittany.

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The English had unfortunately lost at sea three of their ships, full of men and stores, and had been so much separated by contrary winds, that they arrived, not without great danger, in three different ports of England.

The earl of Buckingham was rejoiced at the arrival of the portuguese knight, whom he most graciously received. On his inquiring after news, he told him enough, as well of Spain as of Portugal.

They continued their journey together, until they came to the good city of London, where the king was.

On the earl of Buckingham's arrival, the city of London entertained him magnificently. He went to Westminster to wait on the king, who was there with his two uncles, the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, and took the knight from Portugal with him, whom he presented to the king and to his brothers.

When the king and the above-named lords were made acquainted with the subject of his coming, they seemed to be much pleased, and paid him great respect. He delivered his letters to the king, who read them in the presence of his uncles; for you must know the king did nothing without the advice of these uncles, being at that time very young.

The knight was questioned, notwithstanding the letters he had brought with him, on the subject of his coming from Portugal: his answers were prudent and proper, according to the propositions which have been mentioned before. When the lords had fully heard all he had to say, they said,

—‘Many

—‘ Many thanks to our fair cousin the king of Portugal, who, to serve us, has made war on our adversary. What he requires is but reasonable, and he shall be speedily succoured. The king will consider in what manner he shall arrange this busineſs.’ No further converſation paſſed. The foreign knight, having brought ſuſh agreeable tidings to the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, was much feasted, and dined with the king. He remained about fifteen days, and until a week before the feaſt of St. George, with the king and his uncles. Sir Robert de Namur was alſo there, who had come to do homage to the king for what he poſſeſſed in England. The parliament was alſo ſummoned to meet at Westminſter, as well on account of this embaſſy from Portugal as upon the affairs of Scotland, the truce between the two countries ending the firſt of June.

The prelates and barons of England held many counſils to conſider this busineſs: they were not for ſeading the duke of Lancaster to Portugal, ſome ſaying it was a long voyage for him, and that they might repent of his going, for the Scots were making great preparations to invade England. It was at laſt determined that the duke of Lancaster, who was well acquainted with Scotland and its inhabitants, ſhould go to the borders, and learn what were the intentions of the Scots; for of all the barons of England he knew beſt how to conduct a treaty, and the Scots would do more for him than for any other person. They likewiſe reſolved that the earl

of

of Cambridge should embark for Portugal with five hundred spears and as many archers; and if the duke of Lancaster could manage the Scots, and, without dishonouring England, conclude a truce for three years, he might go likewise, if the king approved of it in council, about August or September, to Portugal to reinforce the army of his brother. There was another reason why the duke of Lancaster ought to remain in England: the king had sent ambassadors, with the duke of Saxony and the archbishop of Ravenna, to the emperor of Germany, to demand his sister in marriage and to obtain his answer; for there had been great negotiations on this subject for upwards of a year. The bishop of St. David's and sir Simon Burley were the ambassadors, on the part of England, to assist and bring it to a conclusion.

The king and his lords agreed to this determination, when the parliament broke up. Lists were made out of those barons and knights who were to accompany the earl of Cambridge to Portugal.

CHAP. LVI.

THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE SAILS FOR PORTUGAL.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER GOES TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND, TO MAKE A TRUCE WITH THE SCOTS.

THE duke of Lancaster, having made his preparations, left the king and his brothers. On taking leave of the earl of Cambridge, he swore to him, by his faith, that on his return from Scotland, he would speedily follow him to Portugal, if no hindrance which he could not then foresee happened in England to prevent him. On this, the duke departed, taking the road to Scotland, and attended only by those of his household.

In this parliament, the earl of Northumberland was appointed lieutenant of all Northumberland, the bishoprick of Durham, and as much of Wales as to the banks of the Severn: he therefore left London for those parts, but it was about fifteen days after the departure of the duke of Lancaster.

The earl of Cambridge took leave of the king and his brother the earl of Buckingham, to complete the forces for the expedition he had undertaken to command. He made his rendezvous at Plymouth, where he was the first who arrived, bringing with him his lady Isabella and his son John, whom he intended carrying with him to Portugal.

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The earl of Cambridge was accompanied by many noblemen, such as sir Matthew Gournay constable of the army, the canon de Robefart, sir John Newcastle, sir William Beauchamp marshal of the army, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord Botreaux, the lord de Charlton, sir William Helmon, sir Thomas Symon, sir Nicholas Windsor, sir John Carteret and several others. There were also men at arms to the amount of five hundred, and as many archers.

These lords and their men came to Plymouth, where they quartered themselves and in the adjoining villages. They loaded their vessels by little and little; but no horses were to be embarked, as the voyage was too long from England to Lisbon. The portuguese knight was with them, intending to accompany them to his country. They remained upwards of three weeks on the coast, getting ready their provision and stores, and waiting for favourable weather.

The duke of Lancaster continued his journey towards Scotland until he came to Berwick, which is the last town in that part of England. When arrived there, he halted, and sent a message to Scotland to acquaint the barons he was come thither to ride the borders, as had always been customary; and, if they were desirous of doing the same first, they had best to inform him of it, otherwise he well knew what he was to do.

The duke's herald rode to Edinburgh, where king Robert of Scotland, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Mar, the earl of Moray and all the principal barons

barons of Scotland were assembled. They had heard the duke of Lancaster was come to treat with them, and had thus assembled in the chief town of Scotland, where the herald met them.

The herald punctually executed his message. He was favourably listened to, and had a friendly answer from the scots barons, who said, they would willingly hear what the duke had to propose. The herald brought back with him passports from the duke and his people, to last as long as they should remain on the borders and during the parleys. The herald, having received these assurances, came back to Berwick and related what he had done.

Upon this, the duke departed from Berwick, leaving all his stores in that town, and took the road to Roxburgh, where he lay. On the morrow, he was lodged in the abbey of Melrose on the Tweed, which divides the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The duke and his attendants remained there until the Scots were come to Lambir-law, three short leagues off. On their arrival, they signified it to the duke, when immediately negotiations were begun between the Scots and English, and which lasted for upwards of fifteen days.

CHAP. LVII.

THE POPULACE OF ENGLAND REBEL AGAINST
THE NOBILITY.

WHILE these conferences were going forward, there happened in England great commotions among the lower ranks of the people, by which England was near ruined without resource. Never was a country in such jeopardy as this was at that period, and all through the too great comfort of the commonalty. Rebellion was stirred up, as it was formerly done in France by the Jacques Bons-hommes, who did much evil, and sore troubled the kingdom of France.

It is marvellous from what a trifle this pestilence raged in England. In order that it may serve as an example to mankind, I will speak of all that was done, from the information I had at the time on the subject.

It is customary in England, as well as in several other countries, for the nobility to have great privileges over the commonalty, whom they keep in bondage; that is to say, they are bound by law and custom to plow the lands of gentlemen, to harvest the grain, to carry it home to the barn, to thrash and winnow it: they are also bound to harvest the hay and carry it home. All these services

vices they are obliged to perform for their lords, and many more in England than in other countries. The prelates and gentlemen are thus served. In the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, these services are more oppressive than in all the rest of the kingdom.

The evil-disposed in these districts began to rise, saying, they were too severely oppressed; that at the beginning of the world there were no slaves, and that no one ought to be treated as such, unless he had committed treason against his lord, as Lucifer had done against God: but they had done no such thing, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed after the same likeness with their lords, who treated them as beasts. This they would not longer bear, but had determined to be free, and if they laboured or did any other works for their lords, they would be paid for it.

A crazy priest in the county of Kent, called John Ball, who, for his absurd preaching, had been thrice confined in the prison of the archbishop of Canterbury, was greatly instrumental in inflaming them with those ideas. He was accustomed, every Sunday after mass, as the people were coming out of the church, to preach to them in the market-place and assemble a crowd around him; to whom he would say,—‘ My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until every thing shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill have they used us? and for what reason do they thus

thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they shew, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labour and work, for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw; and, if we drink, it must be water. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labours in the field; but it is from our labour they have wherewith to support their pomp. We are called slaves; and, if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who wishes to hear us and do us justice. Let us go to the king, who is young, and remonstrate with him on our servitude, telling him we must have it otherwise, or that we shall find a remedy for it ourselves. If we wait on him in a body, all those who come under the appellation of slaves, or are held in bondage, will follow us, in the hopes of being free. When the king shall see us, we shall obtain a favourable answer, or we must then seek ourselves to amend our condition.'

With such words as these did John Ball harangue the people, at his village, every Sunday after mass, for which he was much beloved by them. Some who wished no good declared it was very true, and murmuring to each other, as they were going to the

the fields, on the road from one village to another, or at their different houses, said, ‘ John Ball preaches such and such things, and he speaks truth.’

The archbishop of Canterbury, on being informed of this, had John Ball arrested, and imprisoned for two or three months by way of punishment; but it would have been better if he had been confined during his life, or been put to death, than to have been suffered thus to act. The archbishop set him at liberty, for he could not for conscience sake have put him to death. The moment John Ball was out of prison, he returned to his former errors.

Numbers in the city of London having heard of his preaching, being envious of the rich men and nobility, began to say among themselves, that the kingdom was too badly governed, and the nobility had seized on all the gold and silver coin. These wicked Londoners, therefore, began to assemble and to rebel: they sent to tell those in the adjoining counties, they might come boldly to London, and bring their companions with them, for they would find the town open to them, and the commonalty in the same way of thinking; that they would press the king so much, there should no longer be a slave in England.

These promises stirred up those in the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, and the adjoining country, so that they marched towards London; and, when they arrived near, they were upwards of sixty thousand. They had a leader

called

called Wat Tyler, and with him were Jack Straw and John Ball : these three were their commanders, but the principal was Wat Tyler. This Wat had been a tiler of houses, a bad man, and a great enemy to the nobility. When these wicked people first began to rise, all London, except their friends, were very much frightened. The mayor and rich citizens assembled in council, on hearing they were coming to London, and debated whether they should shut the gates and refuse to admit them ; but, having well considered, they determined not to do so, as they should run a risk of having the suburbs burnt.

The gates were therefore thrown open, when they entered in troops of one or two hundred, by twenties or thirties, according to the populousness of the towns they came from ; and as they came into London they lodged themselves. But it is a truth, that full two-thirds of these people knew not what they wanted, nor what they sought for : they followed one another like sheep, or like to the shepherds of old, who said they were going to conquer the holy land, and afterwards accomplished nothing. In such manner did these poor fellows and vassals come to London from distances of a hundred and sixty leagues, but the greater part from those counties I have mentioned, and on their arrival they demanded to see the king.

The gentlemen of the country, the knights and squires, began to be alarmed when they saw the people thus rise ; and, if they were frightened, they had sufficient reason, for less causes create fear.

fear. They began to collect together as well as they could.

The same day that these wicked men of Kent were on their road towards London, the princess of Wales, mother to the king, was returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She ran great risks from them; for these scoundrels attacked her car, and caused much confusion, which greatly frightened the good lady, lest they should do some violence to her or to her ladies. God, however, preserved her from this, and she came in one day from Canterbury to London, without venturing to make any stop by the way. Her son Richard was this day in the Tower of London: thither the princess came, and found the king attended by the earl of Salisbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, sir Robert de Namur, the lord de Gommegines and several more, who had kept near his person from suspicions of his subjects who were thus assembling, without knowing what they wanted. This rebellion was well known to be in agitation in the king's palace, before it broke out and the country people had left their homes; to which the king applied no remedy, to the great astonishment of every one.

In order that gentlemen and others may take example, and correct wicked rebels, I will most amply detail how this business was conducted.

CHAP. LVIII.

THE POPULACE OF ENGLAND COMMIT MANY CRUELTIES ON THOSE IN OFFICIAL SITUATIONS.—THEY SEND A KNIGHT AS AMBASSADOR TO THE KING.

ON Monday preceding the feast of the holy sacrament, in the year 1381, did these people fall forth from their homes, to come to London to remonstrate with the king, that all might be made free, for they would not there be any slaves in England. At Canterbury, they met John Ball (who thought he should find there the archbishop, but he was at London), Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. On their entrance into Canterbury, they were much feasted by every one, for the inhabitants were of their way of thinking; and, having held a council, they resolved to march to London, and also to send emissaries across the Thames to Essex, Suffolk, Bedford and other counties, to press the people to march to London on that side, and thus, as it were, to surround it, which the king would not be able to prevent. It was their intention that all the different parties should be collected together on the feast of the holy sacrament, or on the following day.

Those who had come to Canterbury entered the church

church of St. Thomas, and did much damage : they pillaged the apartments of the archbishop, saying as they were carrying off different articles, — ‘ This chancellor of England has had this piece of furniture very cheap : he must now give us an account of the revenues of England, and of the large sums he has levied since the coronation of the king.’ After they had defrauded the abbey of St. Vincent, they set off in the morning, and all the populace of Canterbury with them, taking the road towards Rochester. They collected the people from the villages to the right and left, and marched along like a tempest, destroying every house of an attorney or king’s proctor, or that belonged to the archbishop, sparing none.

On their arrival at Rochester, they were much feasted, for the people were waiting for them, being of their party. They advanced to the castle, and seizing a knight called sir John de Newtoun, who was constable of it and captain of the town*, they told him that he must accompany them as their commander in chief, and do whatever they should wish. The knight endeavoured to excuse himself, and offered good reasons for it, if they had been listened to ; but they said to him, ‘ Sir John, if you will not act as we shall order, you are a dead man.’ The knight, seeing this outrageous mob ready to kill him, complied with their request, and very unwillingly put himself at their head. They

* ‘ John de Newtoun was constable of this castle (Rochester) anno 2. king Richard.’ *Hasted’s Kent*, vol. ii. p. 13.

had acted in a similar manner in the other counties of England, in Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Stafford, Warwick and Lincoln, where they forced great lords and knights, such as the lord Manley, a great baron, sir Stephen Hales, sir Thomas Cossington, to lead and march with them. Now, observe how fortunately matters turned out, for had they succeeded in their intentions they would have destroyed the whole nobility of England: after this success, the people of other nations would have rebelled, taking example from those of Ghent and Flanders, who were in actual rebellion against their lord.

In this same year the Parisians acted a similar part, arming themselves with leaden maces. They were upwards of twenty thousand, as I shall relate when I come to that part of my history; but I will first go on with this rebellion in England.

When those who had lodged at Rochester had done all they wanted, they departed, and, crossing the river, came to Dartford, but always following their plan of destroying the houses of lawyers or proctors on the right and left of their road. In their way, they cut off several mens heads, and continued their march to Blackheath, where they fixed their quarters: they said they were armed for the king and commons of England.

When the citizens of London found they were quartered so near them, they closed the gates of London-bridge: guards were placed there by orders of sir William Walworth, mayor of London, and several rich citizens who were not of their party:

party: but there were in the city more than thirty thousand who favoured them.

Those who were at Blackheath had information of this: they sent, therefore, their knight to speak with the king, and to tell him, that what they were doing was for his service, for the kingdom had been for several years wretchedly governed, to the great dishonour of the realm and to the oppression of the lower ranks of the people, by his uncles, by the clergy, and in particular by the archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellor, from whom they would have an account of his ministry.

The knight dared not say nor do any thing to the contrary, but, advancing to the Thames opposite the Tower, he took boat and crossed over. While the king and those with him in the Tower were in great suspense, and anxious to receive some intelligence, the knight came on shore: way was made for him, and he was conducted to the king, who was in an apartment with the princess his mother. There were also with the king his two maternal brothers, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, the great prior of the Templars in England, sir Robert de Namur, the lord de Vertain, the lord de Gomme-gines, sir Henry de Sausselles, the mayor of London and several of the principal citizens.

Sir John Newtoun, who was well known to them all, for he was one of the king's officers, cast himself on his knees and said,—‘ My much re-doubted

doubted lord, do not be displeased with me for the message I am about to deliver to you ; for, my dear lord, through force I am come hither.'

' By no means, sir John, tell us what you are charged with : we hold you excused.' ' My very redoubted lord, the commons of your realm send me to you to entreat you would come and speak with them on Blackheath. They wish to have no one but yourself ; and you need not fear for your person, for they will not do you the least harm : they always have respected and will respect you as their king ; but they will tell you many things, which, they say, it is necessary you should hear ; with which, however, they have not empowered me to acquaint you. But, dear lord, have the goodness to give me such an answer as may satisfy them, and that they may be convinced I have really been in your presence ; for they have my children as hostages for my return, whom they will assuredly put to death, if I do not go back.'

The king replied, ' You shall speedily have an answer.' Upon this, he called a council to consider what was to be done. The king was advised to say, that if on Thursday they would come down to the river Thames, he would without fail speak with them. Sir John Newtoun, on receiving this answer, was well satisfied therewith, and, taking leave of the king and barons, departed : having entered his boat, he recrossed the Thames, and returned to Blackheath, where he had left upwards of sixty thousand men. He told them from the king,

king, that if they would send on the morrow morning their leaders to the Thames, the king would come and hear what they had to say.

This answer gave great pleasure, and they were contented with it : they passed the night as well as they could ; but you must know that one-fourth of them fasted for want of provision, as they had not brought any with them, at which they were much vexed, as may be supposed.

At this time, the earl of Buckingham was in Wales, where he possessed great estates in right of his wife, who was daughter of the earl of Hereford and Northampton ; but the common report about London was, that he favoured these people : some assured it for a truth, as having seen him among them, because there was one Thomas very much resembling him, from the county of Cambridge.

As for the English barons who were at Plymouth, making preparations for their voyage, they had heard of this rebellion, and that the people were rising in all parts of the kingdom. Fearful lest their voyage should be prevented, or that the populace, as they had done at Southampton, Winchelsea and Arundel, should attack them, they heaved their anchors, and with some difficulty left the harbour, for the wind was against them, and put to sea, when they cast anchor to wait for a wind.

The duke of Lancaster was on the borders, between La Morlane*, Roxburgh and Melrose, hold-

* La Morlane. Lambir-law.—*Macpherson's Geog. Illust. of Scotland.*

ing conferences with the Scots : he had also received intelligence of this rebellion, and the danger his person was in, for he well knew he was unpopular with the common people of England. Notwithstanding this, he managed his treaty very prudently with the Scots commissioners, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Mar and Thomas de Vesey. The Scot-men who were conducting the treaty on the part of the king and the country knew also of the rebellion in England, and how the populace were rising every where against the nobility. They said, that England was shaken and in great danger of being ruined, for which in their treaties they bore the harder on the duke of Lancaster and his council.

We will now return to the commonalty of England, and say how they continued in their rebellion.

CHAP. LIX.

THE COMMONALTY OF ENGLAND ENTER LONDON, WHERE THEY COMMIT MANY CRUELTIES AND OUTRAGES.—THEY PUT TO DEATH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND SEVERAL OTHERS.

ON Corpus Christi day, king Richard heard mass, in the Tower of London, with all his lords, and afterwards entered his barge, attended by the earls of Salisbury, Warwick and Suffolk, with other knights. He rowed down the Thames towards Rotherhithe, a manor belonging to the crown, where were upwards of ten thousand men, who had come from Blackheath to see the king and to speak to him: when they perceived his barge approach, they set up such shouts and cries as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. They had their knight, sir John Newtoun, with them; for, in case the king had not come and they found he had made a jest of them, they would, as they had threatened, have cut him to pieces.

When the king and his lords saw this crowd of people, and the wildness of their manner, there was not one among them so bold and determined but felt alarmed: the king was advised by his barons

batons not to land, but to have his barge rowed up and down the river.

‘What do ye wish for?’ demanded the king: ‘I am come hither to hear what you have to say.’ Those near him cried out with one voice,—‘We wish thee to land, when we will remonstrate with thee, and tell thee more at our ease what our wants are.’ The earl of Salisbury then replied for the king, and said,—‘Gentlemen, you are not properly dressed, nor in a fit condition for the king to talk with you.’

Nothing more was said; for the king was desired to return to the Tower of London, from whence he had set out. When the people saw they could obtain nothing more, they were inflamed with passion, and went back to Blackheath, where the main body was, to relate the answer they had received, and how the king was returned to the Tower. They all then cried out, ‘Let us march instantly to London.’ They immediately set off; and, in their road thither, they destroyed the houses of lawyers, courtiers and monasteries. Advancing into the suburbs of London, which were very handsome and extensive, they pulled down many fine houses: in particular, they demolished the prison of the king called the Marshalsea, and set at liberty all those confined within it. They did much damage to the suburbs, and menaced the Londoners at the entrance of the bridge for having shut the gates of it, saying, they would set fire to the suburbs, take the city by storm, and afterwards burn and destroy it.

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With respect to the common people of London, numbers were of their opinions, and, on assembling together, said,—‘ Why will you refuse admittance to these honest men? They are our friends, and what they are doing is for our good.’ It was then found necessary to open the gates, when crowds rushed in, and ran to those shops which seemed well stored with provision: if they sought for meat or drink, it was placed before them, and nothing refused, but all manner of good cheer offered, in hopes of appeasing them.

Their leaders, John Ball, Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, then marched through London, attended by more than twenty thousand men, to the palace of the Savoy, which is a handsome building on the road to Westminster, situated on the banks of the Thames, belonging to the duke of Lancaster: they immediately killed the porters, pressed into the house and set it on fire. Not content with committing this outrage, they went to the house of the knights-hospitalers of Rhodes, dedicated to St. John of Mount Carmel, which they burnt, together with their hospital and church. They afterwards paraded the streets, and killed every Fleming they could find, whether in house, church or hospital: not one escaped death. They broke open several houses of the Lombards, taking whatever money they could lay their hands on, none daring to oppose them. They murdered a rich citizen called Richard Lyon, to whom Wat Tyler had been formerly servant in France; but, having once beaten this varlet, he had not forgotten it, and,

and, having carried his men to his house, ordered his head to be cut off, placed upon a pike, and carried through the streets of London. Thus did these wicked people act like madmen ; and, on this Thurday, they did much mischief to the city of London.

Towards evening, they fixed their quarters in a square called St. Catherines, before the Tower, declaring they would not depart thence until they should obtain from the king every thing they wanted, and have all their desires satisfied ; and the chancellor of England made to account with them, and shew how the great sums which had been raised were expended ; menacing, that if he did not render such an account as was agreeable to them, it would be the worse for him.

Considering the various ills they had done to foreigners, they lodged themselves before the Tower. You may easily suppose what a miserable situation the king was in, and those with him ; for at times these rebellious fellows hooted as loud as if the devils were in them.

About evening, a council was held in the presence of the king, the barons who were in the Tower with him, sir William Walworth the mayor, and some of the principal citizens, when it was proposed to arm themselves, and during the night to fall upon these wretches, who were in the streets and amounted to sixty thousand, while they were asleep and drunk, for then they might be killed like flies, and not one in twenty among them had arms. The citizens were very capable of doing this,

this, for they had secretly received into their houses their friends and servants, properly prepared to act.

Sir Robert Knolles remained in his house, guarding his property, with more than six score companions completely armed, who would have instantly fallied forth. Sir Perducas d'Albreth was also in London at that period, and would have been of great service; so that they could have mustered upwards of eight thousand men, well armed. But nothing was done; for they were too much afraid of the commonalty of London; and the advisers of the king, the earl of Salisbury and others, said to him,—‘Sir, if you can appease them by fair words, it will be so much the better, and good humouredly grant them what they ask; for, should we begin what we cannot go through, we shall never be able to recover it: it will be all over with us and our heirs, and England will be a desert.’

This counsel was followed, and the mayor ordered to make no movement. He obeyed, as in reason he ought. In the city of London, with the mayor, there are twelve sheriffs*, of whom nine were for the king and three for these wicked people, as it was afterwards discovered, and for which they then paid dearly.

* *Twelve sheriffs.* Froissart is mistaken, as there are only two sheriffs and twenty-six aldermen, including the mayor.

The aldermen were originally chosen for one year; but, in 1354, ‘it was ordained that they should not be removed without some special cause.’—*Stow’s Hist. of London.*

On Friday morning, those lodged in the square before St. Catherines, near the Tower, began to make themselves ready: they shouted much, and said, that if the king would not come out to them, they would attack the Tower, storm it, and slay all in it.

The king was alarmed at these menaces, and resolved to speak with them; he therefore sent orders for them to retire to a handsome meadow at Mile-end, where, in the summer time, people go to amuse themselves, and that there the king would grant them their demands. Proclamation was made in the king's name for all those who wished to speak with him to go to the above-mentioned place, where he would not fail to meet them.

The commonalty of the different villages began to march thither; but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view, for the greater part only wished for the riches and destruction of the nobles, and the plunder of London. This was the principal cause of their rebellion, as they very clearly shewed; for when the gates of the Tower were thrown open, and the king, attended by his two brothers, the earls of Salisbury, of Warwick, of Suffolk, sir Robert de Namur, the lords de Vertain and de Gommegines, with several others, had passed through them, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball, with upwards of four hundred, rushed in by force, and, running from chamber to chamber, found the archbishop of Canterbury, whose name was Simon*, a valiant and wise man, and chan-

* Simon de Sudbury. His name was Tibold; but he took the name de Sudbury from the place of his birth.

cellor of England, who had but just celebrated mass before the king : he was seized by these rascals, and beheaded. The prior of St. John's suffered the same fate, and likewise a franciscan friar, a doctor of physic, who was attached to the duke of Lancaster, out of spite to his master, and also a serjeant at arms of the name of John Laige*. They fixed these four heads on long pikes, and had them carried before them through the streets of London: when they had sufficiently played with them, they placed them on London Bridge, as if they had been traitors to their king and country.

These scoundrels entered the apartment of the princess, and cut her bed, which so much terrified her that she fainted, and in this condition was by her servants and ladies carried to the river side, when she was put into a covered boat, and conveyed to the house called The Wardrobe†, where she continued that day and night like to a woman half dead, until she was comforted by the king her son, as you shall presently hear,

* Laige. Leg.—HOLLINGSHED.

† The King's Wardrobe was at this time in Carter-lane, Barnard's Castle-ward. For further particulars, see Stowe's hist. of London.

CHAP. LX.

THE NOBLES OF ENGLAND ARE IN GREAT DANGER OF BEING DESTROYED.—THREE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE REBELS ARE PUNISHED, AND THE REST SENT BACK TO THEIR HOMES.

WHEN the king was on his way to the place called Mile-end, without London, his two brothers, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, stole off and galloped from his company, as did also the lord de Gommegines, not daring to shew themselves to the populace at Mile-end for fear of their lives.

On the king's arrival, attended by the barons, he found upwards of sixty thousand men assembled from different villages and counties of England : he instantly advanced into the midst of them, saying in a pleasant manner,—" My good people, I am your king and your lord: what is it you want? and what do you wish to say to me?" Those who heard him answered, " We wish thou wouldest make us free for ever, us, our heirs and our lands, and that we should no longer be called slaves, nor held in bondage." The king replied; " I grant your wish: now therefore return to your homes and the places from whence you came, leaving behind two or three men from each village, to whom I will order

order letters to be given sealed with my seal, which they shall carry back with every demand you have made fully granted: and, in order that you may be the more satisfied, I will direct that my banners shall be sent to every stewardship, castlewick and corporation.'

These words greatly appeased the novices and well-meaning ones who were there, and knew not what they wanted, saying,—‘ It is well said: we do not wish for more.’ The people were thus quieted, and began to return towards London.

The king added a few words, which pleased them much: ‘ You, my good people of Kent, shall have one of my banners; and you also of Essex, Sussex, Bedford, Suffolk, Cambridge, Stafford and Lincoln, shall each of you have one; and I pardon you all for what you hitherto have done; but you must follow my banners, and now return home on the terms I have mentioned.’ They unanimously replied, they would.

Thus did this great assembly break up, and set out for London.

The king instantly employed upwards of thirty secretaries, who drew up the letters as fast as they could; and, having sealed and delivered them to these people, they departed, and returned to their own counties.

The principal mischief remained behind: I mean, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball, who declared, that though the people were satisfied, they would not thus depart; and they had more than thirty thousand who were of their mind. They

continued in the city, without any wish to have their letters, or the king's seal ; but did all they could to throw the town into such confusion that the lords and rich citizens might be murdered, and their houses pillaged and destroyed. The Londoners suspected this, and kept themselves at home, with their friends and servants, well armed and prepared, every one according to his abilities.

When the people had been appeased at Mile-end Green, and were setting off for their different towns as speedily as they could receive the king's letters, king Richard went to the wardrobe, where the princess was in the greatest fear : he comforted her, as he was very able to do, and passed there the night.

I must relate an adventure which happened to these clowns before Norwich, and to their leader, called William Lister, who was from the county of Stafford.

On the same day, these wicked people burnt the palace of the Savoy, the church and house of St. John, the hospital of the Templars, pulled down the prison of Newgate and set at liberty all the prisoners. There were collected numerous bodies from Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, who proceeded on their march towards London, according to the orders they had received, under the direction of Lister.

In their road, they stopped near Norwich, and forced every one to join them, so that none of the commonalty remained behind. The reason why they stopped near Norwich was, that the governor

of

of the town was a knight called sir Robert Salle : he was not by birth a gentleman, but, having acquired great renown for his ability and courage, king Edward had created him a knight : he was the handsomest and strongest man in England. Lister and his companions took it into their heads they would make this knight their commander, and carry him with them, in order to be the more feared.

They sent orders to him to come out into the fields to speak with them, or they would attack and burn the city. The knight, considering it was much better for him to go to them than that they should commit such outrages, mounted his horse, and went out of the town alone, to hear what they had to say. When they perceived him coming, they shewed him every mark of respect, and courteously entreated him to dismount and talk with them. He did dismount, and committed a great folly ; for, when he had so done, having surrounded him, they at first conversed in a friendly way, saying, —‘ Robert, you are a knight, and a man of great weight in this country, renowned for your valour ; yet, notwithstanding all this, we know who you are ; you are not a gentleman, but the son of a poor mason, just such as ourselves. Do you come with us, as our commander, and we will make so great a lord of you that one quarter of England shall be under your command.’

The knight, on hearing them thus speak, was exceedingly angry ; he would never have consented to such a proposal ; and, eyeing them with inflamed

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looks, answered,—‘ Begone, wicked scoundrels and false traitors as you are: would you have me desert my natural lord for such blackguards as you? would you have me dishonour myself? I had much rather you were all hanged, for that must be your end.’ On saying this, he attempted to mount his horse; but, his foot slipping from the stirrup, his horse took fright. They then shouted out, and cried, ‘ Put him to death.’ When he heard this, he let his horse go; and, drawing a handsome Bourdeaux sword, he began to skirmish, and soon cleared the crowd from about him, that it was a pleasure to see. Some attempted to close with him; but, with each stroke he gave, he cut off heads, arms, feet or legs. There were none so bold but were afraid; and sir Robert performed that day marvellous feats of arms. These wretches were upwards of forty thousand: they shot and flung at him such things, that had he been clothed in steel instead of being unarmed, he must have been over-powered: however, he killed twelve of them, besides many whom he wounded. At last, he was overthrown, when they cut off his legs and arms, and rent his body in piecemeal.

Thus ended sir Robert Salle, which was a great pity; and, when the knights and squires in England heard of it, they were much enraged.

On the Saturday morning, the king left the wardrobe, and went to Westminster, where he and all the lords heard mass in the abbey. In this church, there is a statue of our lady in a small chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles,

racles, in which the kings of England have much faith. The king, having paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine, mounted his horse about nine o'clock, as did the barons who were with him. They rode along the causeway to return to London; but, when they had gone a little way, he turned to a road on the left to go from London.

This day, all the rabble were again assembled, under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball, to parley at a place called Smithfield, where, every Friday, the horse-market is kept. They amounted to upwards of twenty thousand, all of the same sort. Many more were in the city, breakfasting and drinking Rhenish and Malmsey Madeira wines, in taverns and at the houses of the Lombards, without paying for any thing; and happy was he who could give them good cheer.

Those who were collected in Smithfield had the king's banners, which had been given to them the preceding evening; and these reprobates wanted to pillage the city this same day, their leaders saying, 'that hitherto they had done nothing. The pardons which the king has granted will not be of much use to us: but, if we be of the same mind, we shall pillage this large, rich and powerful town of London before those from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Warwick, Reading, Lancashire, Arundel, Guildford, Coventry, Lynne, Lincoln, York and Durham shall arrive; for they are on the road, and we know for certain that Vaquier* and

* Valquier,—probably Walker.

Lister will conduct them hither. If we now plunder the city of the wealth that is in it, we shall have been beforehand, and shall not repent of so doing ; but, if we wait for their arrival, they will wrest it from us.' To this opinion all had agreed, when the king appeared in sight, attended by sixty horse. He was not thinking of them, but intended to have continued his ride without coming into London : however, when he came before the abbey of St. Bartholomew, which is in Smithfield, and saw the crowd of people, he stopped, and said he would not proceed until he knew what they wanted ; and, if they were troubled, he would appease them.

The lords who accompanied him stopped also, as was but right, since the king had stopped ; when Wat Tyler, seeing the king, said to his men, 'Here is the king: I will go and speak with him : do not you stir from hence until I give you a signal.' He made a motion with his hand, and added, 'When you shall see me make this sign, then step forward, and kill every one except the king ; but hurt him not, for he is young, and we can do what we please with him ; for, by carrying him with us through England, we shall be lords of it without any opposition.'

There was a doublet-maker of London, called John Ticle, who had brought sixty doublets with which some of the clowns had dressed themselves ; and, on his asking who was to pay, for he must have for them thirty good marcs, Tyler replied,— ' Make thyself easy, man : thou shalt be well paid this day : look to me for it : thou hast sufficient security

curity for them.' On saying this, he spurred the horse on which he rode, and, leaving his men, galloped up to the king, and came so near that his horse's head touched the crupper of that of the king. The first words he said, when he addressed the king, were, 'King, dost thou see all those men there?' 'Yes,' replied the king: 'why dost thou ask?' 'Because they are all under my command, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatever I shall order.' 'Very well,' said the king: 'I have no objections to it.' Tyler, who was only desirous of a riot, answered, 'And thinkest thou, king, that those people and as many more who are in the city, also under my command, ought to depart without having had thy letters? Oh no, we will carry them with us.' 'Why,' replied the king, 'so it has been ordered, and they will be delivered out one after the other; but, friend, return to thy companions, and tell them to depart from London: be peaceable and careful of yourselves, for it is our determination that you shall all of you have your letters by villages and towns, as it had been agreed on.'

As the king finished speaking, Wat Tyler, casting his eyes around him, spied a squire attached to the king's person bearing his sword. Tyler mortally hated this squire; formerly they had had words together, when the squire ill-treated him. 'What, art thou there?' cried Tyler: 'give me thy dagger.' 'I will not,' said the squire: 'why should I give it thee?' The king, turning to him, said, 'Give it him, give it him;' which he did, though

much

much against his will. When Tyler took it, he began to play with it and turn it about in his hand, and, again addressing the squire, said, ‘Give me that sword.’ ‘I will not,’ replied the squire; ‘for it is the king’s sword, and thou art not worthy to bear it, who art but a mechanick; and, if only thou and I were together, thou wouldest not have dared to say what thou hast for as large a heap of gold as this church.’ ‘By my troth,’ answered Tyler, ‘I will not eat this day before I have thy head.’

At these words, the mayor of London, with about twelve more, rode forward, armed under their robes, and, pushing through the crowd, saw Tyler’s manner of behaving: upon which, he said, ‘Scoundrel, how dare you thus behave in the presence of the king, and utter such words? It is too impudent for such as thou.’ The king then began to be enraged, and said to the mayor, ‘Lay hands on him.’

Whilst the king was giving this order, Tyler had addressed the mayor, saying, ‘Hey, in God’s name, what I have said, does it concern thee? what dost thou mean?’ ‘Truly,’ replied the mayor, who found himself supported by the king, ‘does it become such a stinking rascal as thou art to use such speech in the presence of the king, my natural lord? I will not live a day, if thou pay not for it.’ Upon this, he drew a kind of scymitar he wore, and struck Tyler such a blow on the head as felled him to his horse’s feet. When he was down, he was surrounded on all sides, so that his men could not see him;

him ; and one of the king's squires, called John Standwich*, immediately leaped from his horse, and, drawing a handsome fword which he bore, thrust it into his belly, and thus killed him.

His men, advancing, saw their leader dead, when they cried out,—‘ They have killed our captain : let us march to them, and slay the whole.’ On these words, they drew up in a fort of battle-array, each man having his bent bow before him.

The king certainly hazarded much by this action, but it turned out fortunate ; for, when Tyler was on the ground, he left his attendants, ordering not one to follow him. He rode up to these rebellious fellows, who were advancing to revenge their leader’s death, and said to them,—‘ Gentlemen, what are you about ? you shall have no other captain but me : I am your king : remain peaceable.’ When the greater part of them heard these words, they were quite ashamed, and those inclined to peace began to slip away. The riotous ones kept their ground, and shewed symptoms of mischief, and as if they were resolved to do something.

The king returned to his lords, and asked them what should next be done. He was advised to make for the fields ; for the mayor said, ‘ that to retreat or fly would be of no avail. It is proper we should act thus, for I reckon that we shall very soon receive assistance from London, that is, from our good friends who are prepared and armed, with all their servants, in their houses.’

* Standwich. Lord Berners calls him Sandwich ; Stow, Ca-vendish.

While

While things remained in this state, several ran to London, and cried out,—‘ They are killing the king! they are killing the king and our mayor.’ Upon this alarm, every man of the king’s party fellied out towards Smithfield, and to the fields whither the king had retreated; and there were instantly collected from seven to eight thousand men in arms.

Among the first, came sir Robert Knolles and sir Perducas d’Albreth, well attended*; and several of the aldermen, with upwards of six hundred men at arms, and a powerful man of the city called Nicholas Bramber, the king’s draper, bringing with him a large force, who, as they came up, ranged themselves in order, on foot, on each side of him. The rebels were drawn up opposite them: they had the king’s banners, and shewed as if they intended to maintain their ground by offering combat.

The king created three knights; sir William Walworth mayor of London, sir John Standwich and sir Nicholas Bramber. The lords began to

* In one of my MSS. there is the following addition :

“ Sir Robert de Namur, sir Robert Knolles and sir Perducas d’Albreth were very angry that these wicked people so easily escaped, for they had put the town into great alarm for three days. Sir Henry de Saufeltes, a young knight from Hainault who had accompanied sir Robert de Namur, asked why some revenge was not had for having kept the town in such alarm. Sir Robert, upon this, asked him if he had been frightened : ‘ Yes, by God, was I, very much; why should I conceal it? And was not you?’ ‘ No, by my troth, I was not; but, if the king had not been here with us, we should have run great risk.’

converse

converse among themselves, saying, ‘What shall we do? We see our enemies, who would willingly have murdered us if they had gained the upper hand.’ Sir Robert Knolles advised immediately to fall on them, and slay them; but the king would not consent, saying,—‘I will not have you act thus: you shall go and demand from them my banners: we shall see how they will behave when you make this demand; for I will have them by fair or foul means.’ ‘It is a good thought,’ replied the earl of Salisbury.

The new knights were therefore sent, who, on approaching, made signs for them not to shoot, as they wished to speak with them. When they had come near enough to be heard, they said,—‘Now attend: the king orders you to send back his banners, and we hope he will have mercy on you.’

The banners were directly given up, and brought to the king. It was then ordered, under pain of death, that all those who had obtained the king’s letters should deliver them up. Some did so; but not all. The king, on receiving them, had them torn in their presence. You must know, that from the instant when the king’s banners were surrendered, these fellows kept no order; but the greater part, throwing their bows to the ground, took to their heels and returned to London.

Sir Robert Knolles was in a violent rage that they were not attacked, and the whole of them slain; but the king would not consent to it, saying, he would have ample revenge on them, which in truth he afterwards had.

Thus

Thus did these people disperse, and run away on all sides. The king, the lords and the army returned in good array to London, to their great joy. The king immediately took the road to the wardrobe, to visit the princess his mother, who had remained there two days and two nights under the greatest fears, as indeed she had cause. On seeing the king her son, she was mightily rejoiced; and said, — ‘ Ha, ha, fair son, what pain and anguish have I not suffered for you this day ! ’

‘ Certainly, Madam,’ replied the king, ‘ I am well assured of that ; but now rejoice and thank God, for it behoves us to praise him, as I have this day regained my inheritance, and the kingdom of England, which I had lost.’

The king remained the whole day with his mother. The lords retired to their own houses. A proclamation was made through all the streets, that every person who was not an inhabitant of London, and who had not resided there for a whole year, should instantly depart; for that, if there were any found of a contrary description on Sunday morning at sun-rise, they would be arrested as traitors to the king, and have their heads cut off.

After this proclamation had been heard, no one dared to infringe it ; but all departed instantly to their homes, quite discomfited. John Ball and Jack Straw were found hidden in an old ruin, thinking to steal away; but this they could not do, for they were betrayed by their own men. The king and the lords were well pleased with their seizure: their heads were cut off, as was that of

Tyler,

Tyler, and fixed on London Bridge, in the place of those gallant men whom they beheaded on the Thurfday*. The news of this was sent through the neighbouring counties, that those might hear of it who were on their way to London, according to the orders these rebels had sent to them: upon which, they instantly returned to their homes, without daring to advance further.

* From the forementioned MS.

' This same week was James Lister taken, who had murdered sir Robert Salle. He and twelve others were executed with him. Thus were these traitors punished. There are some who say, that John Ball and his accomplices were strictly examined before they were put to death, and then owned that persons of the highest rank and power had incited them to act as they had done. The king kept this confession secret in his own mind, and returned thanks to God for his happy issue out of this danger. Very many were astonished that the duke of Lancaster, during all this rebellion, remained out of the kingdom, settling general matters on the borders of Scotland.

' The king sent orders to the earl of Northumberland, that if the duke of Lancaster should attempt to enter any fortified town or castle, the gates should be shut against him. The king made the said earl his lieutenant of all the borders towards Scotland. Many noblemen and others were surprised at this, for it would seem as if the king suspected the duke of being implicated with the rebels. But it was admitted, on all sides, that he was inculpated without any grounds; for the first thing the rebels did, on entering London, was to march to the palace of the Savoy, and totally destroy and burn it. Now this did not shew that he was friendly to their cause. They also put to death several who were attached to him.'

CHAP. LXI.

▲ TRUCE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTS.—
THE DUKE OF LANCASTER REMAINS IN SCOT-
LAND DURING THE REBELLION IN ENGLAND.

WE will now speak of the truce which the duke of Lancaster, who had remained on the borders of Scotland during the time of this rebellion in England, was negotiating with the earl of Douglas and other barons on the part of Scotland. The Scots were as well informed as the duke of the situation of England, though he did not take any notice of it to them, but went on with the treaty as if England were in perfect peace.

The business was so ably conducted by the commissioners on each side that a truce was made, for three years, between the two kingdoms.

When this treaty was concluded, the lords of the two countries visited each other with much respect. The earl of Douglas said to the duke of Lancaster, — ‘My lord, we were well informed of the rebellion of the populace in England, and what peril the kingdom was in from that event: we therefore look on you as a valiant and prudent man, for having so frankly continued your negotiations without ever taking the least notice of it; and we offer you, should you think them necessary, five or six hundred

dred spears, which you will find ready and at your service.'

'By my faith,' replied the duke, 'fair gentlemen, I thank you much for your gallant offer, which I do not refuse; but I imagine his majesty must have been so advised that all will turn out well. However, I wish to have passports from you, for myself and people, to go to your country, and reside there, should there be occasion, until all these troubles be appeased.'

The earls of Douglas and Moray, who had full powers from the king, immediately complied with his request. They then took their leave, and each party separated: the Scots returned to Edinburgh, and the duke, with his attendants, to Berwick, thinking to enter the town, where he had left all his baggage; but sir Matthew Redmayne, the governor, refused him entrance, and closed the gates against him. He told him he acted by orders from the earl of Northumberland, at that time lord warden of the county of Northumberland and of all those parts, who had forbidden him to open the gates, and that he could do no otherwise.

The duke was much vexed on hearing these words, and thus answered; 'How, Matthew Redmayne, is there any one in Northumberland greater than I? Who has thus denied my entrance where I have left my baggage? from whence come such orders?' 'By my faith, my lord, my orders are from the king, and what I do is very much against my will; but do it I must; and I entreat of you, for God's sake, to excuse me, for I am strictly enjoined,

joined, on my honour and life, not to suffer you, or any of your people, to enter this town.'

You may suppose the duke of Lancaster was much astonished and enraged at these orders; not so much with the knight, but with those who had given them; for when he had been labouring for the good of England, they were so suspicious of him that they had refused him admittance into the first town of England, on his return from Scotland. He supposed that great fault had been found with him: however, he did not open his thoughts or intentions further, and no longer pressed the knight. He saw no success could come from it, for the knight would never have acted as he had done if he had not had express commands: he therefore changed the subject of conversation, and asked sir Matthew if he had heard any news from England. He answered,—'None, except that the country was in confusion, and that the king had written to the principal towns, barons and knights of this country to be ready to come to him the moment he should send for them, strictly forbidding, under pain of losing their heads, all governors and captains of towns and castles in Northumberland to suffer any one whatever to enter their places; and be assured they will punctually obey. But, with regard to the common people who are in rebellion about London, I know nothing I can depend on to relate to you, except that the officers in Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Stafford, Bedford and Norfolk have sent information that the commonalty under their command, are very eager affairs should turn out ill;

and

and that there should be confusion in the kingdom.' 'And in our counties,' said the duke, 'of Derby and Leicester, there is not any commotion?' 'My lord,' replied the knight, 'I have not heard they have behaved so outrageously as those of Lincoln and others.'

The duke, having mused a little, took leave of the knight, and returned by the road he had come to Roxburgh Castle, where he was gladly received by the governor, whom he had placed there. The duke now weighed all matters, not knowing how affairs were going on in England, nor by whom he was beloved or hated, and whether he should signify his situation to the barons of Scotland, and entreat of them to send him an escort of men at arms, according to the passport they had given. He followed this last plan, and sent to the earl of Douglas at Dalkeith. The earl was greatly rejoiced at receiving the duke's letter, and much feasted the messenger. He instantly informed the earl of Moray and his brother the earl of Mar, of the business, and directed that without fail they and their men should be ready and mounted within three days at Lambir-law. These lords, on receiving this intimation, summoned their people and nearest friends, and came to Lambir-law, where they found the earl of Douglas. They then rode on together, amounting, in the whole, to full five hundred spears, to the abbey of Melrose, nine small leagues from Roxburgh. The barons of Scotland met the duke of Lancaster on their road, when they embraced each other, and shewed every token of being glad at meeting.

meeting. They continued their journey to Edinburgh in company, conversing all the way. This was the capital of the kingdom, and where usually the king resided : it has a strong castle and fair harbour ; but the king was at that time absent, being in the Highlands on a hunting party.

To pay greater honour to the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Douglas and the scots barons delivered up to him the castle of Edinburgh, for which he was very thankful ; and he resided there until he had received intelligence from England, which, however, was not so soon as he wished.

Now see how evil-minded persons and deceivers take on them to prate without any knowledge of facts. It was commonly reported through England, during the time of the rebellion, that the duke of Lancaster had become a traitor to his lord and king, and had turned to the scots party. But this was soon known to be contrary to the truth : however, these wicked people, in order to stir up the commonalty, and to create confusion in the realm, had spread abroad such reports, which were acknowledged at their executions, by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball, Walker and Lifter, who had been the chief leaders of the rebels in England, and who had intended to have had five parts of the kingdom under their command. They had a particular hatred to the duke of Lancaster, as they shewed on their entrance into London ; for they instantly went and burnt the fine palace of the Savoy, not leaving an utensil nor beam unburnt. In addition to this, they had published all over England

England that he had turned to the side of Scotland ; for which, in several parts, they had reversed his arms, as if he had been a traitor. This was so severely punished that those who had done such things lost their heads.

We will now relate what vengeance the king of England took on his rebellious subjects, during the time the duke of Lancaster was in Scotland.

CHAP. LXII.

KING RICHARD JOURNEYS THROUGH ENGLAND FROM TOWN TO TOWN, PUNISHING THOSE WHO HAD BEEN PRINCIPALS OR ACTIVE IN THE LATE REBELLION.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER RETURNS FROM SCOTLAND TO ENGLAND.

AFTER the executions of Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball, William Lister, Walker and several others at London, the people being appeased, the king resolved to visit his bailiwicks, castlewicks and stewardships, in order to punish the wicked and to recover the letters of pardon which had been forced from him, as well as to place the realm in its proper situation.

The king issued a secret summons for a certain number of men at arms to assemble at a fixed place, on a particular day, which was done. They amounted to five hundred spears and as many ar-

chers. When they were thus assembled, the king set out from London, attended only by his household, and took the road to Kent, for in that quarter the rebellion had first broken out.

These men at arms followed the king, but did not accompany him. The king entered the county of Kent, and came to a village called Comprinke*, when he had the mayor and all the men of the village called before him. On their being assembled in an open space, the king ordered one of his council to remonstrate with them, how much they had erred against him, and that they had nearly thrown England into desolation and ruin ; and because this mischief must have had some advisers who had encouraged them in their wickedness, and it must be supposed that all were not equally guilty, it was better that the ringleaders should suffer than the whole : his majesty demanded that those should be pointed out who had been so culpable, under pain of incurring his indignation for ever, and being considered as traitors.

When those present heard this harangue, and saw that the innocent might escape by pointing out the guilty, they looked at each other, and then said ; ‘ My lord, here is one by whom this town was first put into confusion and excited to rise.’ He was immediately seized, and hanged ; as were seven others. The letters patent which had been granted were demanded back : when they were given up,

* Comprinke. It is so in lord Berners. Q. if not Ospringe. See additions at the end of this chapter.

the king's officers tore them in pieces before their eyes, and cast them away, and then said,—‘ We command all ye who are here assembled, in the king's name, and under pain of death, to depart, every one, peaceably to his own home ; and that you never rebel more against the king, nor against his ministers. By the punishment which has been inflicted, your former evil deeds are pardoned.’

The people cried out with one voice, ‘ God bless the king and his good council.’

They acted in the same manner at Propinke *, Canterbury, Sandwich, Germanie†, Conculle‡, and in the different parts of England where the people had rebelled ; so that upwards of fifteen hundred were beheaded or hanged.

The king was advised to send for his uncle the duke of Lancaster, then in Scotland, as every thing was now quieted. He sent thither a knight of his household, called sir Nicholas Carnefelle. The knight set off, and continued his journey until he came to Edinburgh, where he found the duke and his attendants, who were very happy to see him, and entertained him handsomely. He delivered his credential letters from the king ; and the duke made preparations to obey them, as was right, for he was very desirous to return to England and to his estates.

On setting out for Roxburgh, he took his leave

* Propinke. Lord Berners has the same. Q. if not Rochester.

† Germanie. Q.

‡ Conculle. Q.

of

of the barons of Scotland, and thanked them for the honour and comfort they had given him, by maintaining him in their country the time he had wished to stay there. The earls of Douglas and Moray, with all the scottish knights, escorted him as far as the abbey of Melrose, but did not cross the Tweed.

The duke went to Roxburgh, from thence to Newcastle on Tyne, then to Durham and York ; and, in all the towns and cities through which he passed, the inhabitants were drawn up to receive him.

At this period, a gallant knight of England departed this life, sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon and tutor to the king. He was buried with great pomp in the church of the augustine friars. His funeral was attended by the king, the princess his mother, his two brothers, and by great numbers of prelates, barons and ladies of England. In truth, the gallant knight was very deserving of it, for he possessed all the virtues which a knight at that time ought to have : he was gay, loyal, gallant, prudent, secret, generous, bold, determined and enterprising. Thus died sir Guiscard d'Angle,

ADDITIONS,

FROM A MS. IN THE HAFOD LIBRARY,

WHEN these first examples had been made on the leaders of the rebellion in London, St. Alban's, Norwich, Suffolk and Gloucester, the king determined to visit the whole of his kingdom, which he had not done since his coronation. His officers of justice had collected a body of evidence respecting the late rebellion from the confessions of those who had been beheaded.

The king, when he set out, took the road towards Canterbury, under pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Becket: he was attended by the earls of Salisbury, Suffolk and Devonshire, and travelled in grand array. He remained two days at Rochester; for sir John Newtoun, whom these wicked people had forced to be their captain, had, by the king's command, made exact researches after the first instigators of this mischief. He had found out some of the most culpable, who, without form of law, had their heads cut off and placed on the gates and bridge, and their quarters hung on the gibbet. The king departed from Rochester and came to Ospringe, where four were executed.

executed. He came thence to Canterbury ; but why should I make a long story of it ? There were put to death, in the different towns and bailiwicks, upwards of five hundred rebels ; for they were eager in accusing each other.

During this progress of the king, which he continued far into his realm, several of the great barons, such as the earls of Warwick and Kent, sir John Holland, sir John Beauchamp, spoke to the king and to the earl of Salisbury, in favour of the duke of Lancaster ; as did also the Londoners. The king readily consented that two knights should be sent to the duke, for him to return into England and to his presence ; for that he would not listen to any complaints against him or his other uncles. The earl of Northumberland was commanded to go himself in search of him.

The two knights journeyed on until they arrived at Newcastle on Tyne, where they found the earl of Northumberland. He had been informed of their coming, and received them handsomely. They produced their letters, when he took from the packet what was addressed to him ; and, having read it through, was much pleased with the commission to seek the duke of Lancaster ; for he had heard the duke was very angry with him. He therefore wrote letters of excuse ; and, when these two barons met, peace was made between them.

They returned together to England, and found the king arrived at his manor of Eltham, a few miles from London. At this time also, the earl of

of Buckingham came back from Wales, and went to Pleshy, where he resided as formerly. The king and his uncles dissembled their sentiments of each other for some time ; but at last it broke out, as you will hear in the continuance of this history.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER CONCEIVES ANGER
AGAINST THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
FOR THE REFUSAL OF ADMITTANCE INTO
BERWICK.

WHEN the duke of Lancaster was returned from Scotland, and had explained to the council the truce he had negotiated between the two kingdoms, he did not forget to mention how sir Matthew Redmayne, governor of Berwick, (though he blamed not that knight) had shut the gates of Berwick against him, by orders from the earl of Northumberland. It was such an act, he said, as he could never forgive ; and thus spoke of it, with the intent to see if the king his nephew would own it. This the king did, but it seemed to the duke as if it were faintly. The duke was appeased for that time ; but he waited for the feast of our Lady at mid-August, when the king was to hold a solemn court at Westminster.

There

There were at this court great numbers of the nobles and barons of England; the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, with many barons from the north. The king created, this day, the young earl of Pembroke, sir Robert Mowbray, sir Nicholas Twiford and sir Adam François, knights. He did so because he intended, after the feast, to march towards Reading, Oxford, and through those parts of the country, to punish the rebels in the same manner as he had done in Kent and the other counties.

During this feast, and after the dinner, high words passed between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland. The duke said,— ‘Harry Percy, I did not think you were so great a man in England, that you would dare to order any cities, towns or castles, to be shut against the duke of Lancaster.’

The earl respectfully answered; ‘My lord, I do not deny the knight’s act at Berwick: but I was ordered by strict commands of my lord the king, who sits there, on my honour and under pain of death, not to suffer any one, lord or otherwise, to enter the cities, towns or castles of Northumberland, if he were not an inhabitant of those places; and the king, if he please, or the lords of his council, may make my excuses; for they well knew you were in Scotland, and you ought to have been excepted out of these orders.’

‘How, earl of Northumberland,’ replied the duke, ‘do you think it was necessary there should have been a reservation

a reservation in regard to me? who am uncle to the king, and who have my inheritance to guard, which, next to the king's, is the greatest, and who for the good of the realm have made this journey into Scotland? Your answer does not excuse you from having much wronged my honour, in thus giving credit to the reports in circulation that I wished to commit treason with the Scots, by shutting against me the king my lord's towns, and in particular that in which my provision and stores were. For which reasons I tell you, you have ill behaved; and for the blame you have thus cast on me, and to clear myself in the presence of my lord the king, I throw down my glove: take it up if you dare.'

Upon this, the king stepped forth and said,—
 ' Fair uncle of Lancaster, whatever has been done I avow as my orders. Take up your glove, and recal your words. I must excuse the earl of Northumberland; for strictly, and on his life, did we order him to keep every town close shut that was on the borders of Scotland: and know, that our kingdom was in such confusion and peril, when you were in those parts, that it could not support itself. It must, therefore, have been through the fault of the secretary, or the neglect of our council; for, in truth, you ought to have been excepted. I therefore beg of you, and will, that you lay aside your ill humour: I take all on myself, and clear the earl of Northumberland.'

The earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Suffolk, Stafford
 and

and Devonshire, cast themselves on their knees to the duke, and said,—‘ My lord, you hear how amicably the king speaks to you : you ought to condescend to what he requests.’ The duke, who was much inflamed, said, ‘ I will not say more about it.’ He was silent a short space, when, raising the barons, and thanking them, he said; ‘ Fair gentlemen, there is not one of you, if such an affront had happened to him, who would not have been as much angered as I am ; but, since the king wishes otherwise, it is but right that I should comply.’

Peace was made between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland by means of the king and the barons, who interceded for it. On the second day, the king began his journey, as before mentioned, attended by five hundred spears and as many archers, through different counties, where he executed justice on the ill-intentioned and on those who had rebelled against him.

We will now leave the king of England, and speak of his uncle, the earl of Cambridge, and of his voyage to Portugal.

CHAP. LXIV.

THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND HIS ARMY ARRIVE AT LISBON.

YOU have beforeheard how the earl of Cambridge with five hundred men at arms and as many archers were lying in the harbour of Plymouth, waiting

waiting for a wind to carry them to Portugal. At last, a favourable wind came, when they heaved their anchors, and the whole fleet made sail as straight as they could for Lisbon.

They coasted, the two first days, the shores of England: on the third, they entered the Spanish main, when they had a very severe gale; insomuch that the fleet was in great danger from the tempest, more especially those vessels in which the Gascons were, such as sir John de Châteauneuf, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord de la Barde, with about forty men at arms, knights and squires, who were driven out of sight of the English fleet.

The earl of Cambridge, sir William Beauchamp marshal of the army, sir Matthew Gournay constable, and the canon de Roberfoc, with others, escaped, through good fortune, the bad effects of the storm, and, sailing by the stars, arrived in the harbour of Lisbon. News of this was instantly carried to the king, who was daily expecting the English: he immediately sent his knights and ministers to welcome them, by whom they were most respectfully received, and the earl of Cambridge, with the English and foreign knights, conducted to the king.

The king advanced out of his palace to meet the earl, and received them all most honourably one after the other: he led them to the palace, where wine and spices were set before them. John of Cambridge, the earl's son, was with him, which much pleased the king, who said, 'He is my son, and shall have my daughter.' This was very proper,

proper, for they were of the same age. The children were much pleased, and conversed with each other arm in arm.

Whilst the king of Portugal and his knights paid every attention to the earl and his companions, and lodged them in the town, the others, on disembarking, were also well quartered; for the city of Lisbon is large, handsomely built, and well furnished with every thing: the stewards of the household of the king had also been careful to provide it with all things necessary against the arrival of the English. They found it, therefore, amply stored; and the lords were comfortable and in high spirits, though at times they were very uneasy about the lord de Châteauneuf, the souldich de l'Estrade and the lord de la Barde, and their men, whom they looked upon as lost, or that the tempest had driven them among the Moors in the kingdoms of Granada or Benmarine: if it should have so happened, they might as well have perished at sea. All this gave them great concern, and they bitterly lamented them.

In truth, they were to be pitied; for they suffered so much in the tempest none ever endured the like and survived it. They were driven through the straits of the Moors, near to the kingdoms of Benmarine and Tremeçen, and were in great danger of being taken by the Saracens; so that they considered themselves as dead men, never expecting to land nor to get into any safe harbour, and they were forty days in this extreme peril.

At

At last, they had a wind which drove them back, again into the Spanish main, whether they would or not. When the wind became calm, they anchored, and, by good fortune, fell in with two large ships, going, as the crews said, to Lisbon, from Flanders, laden with merchandise and wines.

These knights tacked about, and, having hoisted their pennons, followed the Lisbon ships, who having only merchants on board, were not perfectly easy on seeing this armed vessel approach, with the banners of St. George displayed in various parts of it. However, when they came nearer, finding who they were, they rejoiced to see them. These merchants put the knights once more in great peril, and I will tell you how.

The knights inquired if they could give them any intelligence; and they, in answer, said, that the king of Portugal and the English were in Spain, and had besieged the king of Castille. They were delighted with this news, and declared they would go thither, as they were now near the shores of Seville. They then left the wine-merchants, and ordered their mariners to make sail for Seville, as their friends were there at the siege. They answered, 'In God's name, will we obey you;' and, having steered for Seville, came very near the harbour. The sailors, who were prudent and wished not to run their masters into any danger, ordered a boy to climb the mast, and see if there were any appearance of a siege, either by land or water, before Seville. The boy, who had a good sight, answered he saw nothing like it. The sailors then, addressing

their

their lords, said,—‘ Listen, fair gentlemen: you have had false information, for certainly there is not any siege before Seville, either by land or water: had there been any appearance of it, the harbour would have shewn it. We have no occasion to go thither, unless we wish to be made prisoners; for the king of Castille is surely there, as it is a city in which he delights to dwell preferably to any other.’

The sailors were with difficulty believed: however, they were so at last, when, quitting the coast of Seville, they entered the sea of Portugal, and arrived in the port of Lisbon precisely at the very hour when their obsequies were performing in the church of St. Catherine at Lisbon. The barons and knights were all clothed in black, for they considered them as having perished at sea. You may suppose the joy was great when they learnt their safe arrival, and that they had escaped shipwreck. They enjoyed themselves much together, and the gascon knights soon forgot their misfortunes.

We will leave the affairs of Portugal, as no deeds of arms were done, and return to Flanders, and say what happened there at this period.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

